the weekly Standard

NOVEMBER 19, 2007 $3.95

THE AGE OF GERSHWIN
EDWARD SHORT

HOW THEY DID IT

KIMBERLY KAGAN explains the execution of the surge

A soldier briefs Major General Rick Lynch, commander of the 3rd Infantry Division, at a patrol base south of Baghdad, in August 2007.

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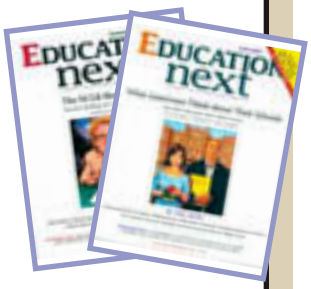

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—Robert M. Costrell and Michael Podgursky

American Teachers: What Do They Believe?

There are nearly three and a half million public and private elementary and secondary teachers in the United States, more individuals by far than in any other occupation. During the course of the 2005–6 school year, each teacher spent upward of 1,260 hours working with our nation's 54 million elementary and secondary school students. It would seem useful to know something about the values they hold. Where do America's elementary and secondary school teachers stand on freedom of speech, family values, and economic inequality, for example? What do they believe about religion and human nature?

—Robert O. Slater

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Defending the Foreign Service

Last week, we editorialized on the well-publicized caterwauling of a senior foreign service officer, Jack Croddy, who is deeply unhappy that the State Department might assign some of its career diplomats against their wishes to serve in Iraq. Croddy (whom we, following other news organizations, unfortunately misidentified as Crotty) complained that an assignment to Iraq would be a "potential death sentence."

Comes now John Matel, a career foreign service officer serving on a Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Iraq's Anbar Province, to defend the honor of his colleagues in an open letter posted on the State Department's official blog (yes, there is such a creature, and it's called "Dipnote"—you can supply your own jokes). Matel writes impressively:

I just finished reading a news article discussing some of my FSO colleagues' vehement and emotional response to the idea that a few of us might have directed assignments in Iraq. To my vexed and overwrought colleagues, I say take a deep breath and calm down. I have been here for a while now, and you may have been misinformed about life at a PRT.

I personally dislike the whole idea of forced assignments, but we do have to do our jobs. We signed up to be worldwide available. All of us volunteered for this kind of work and we have enjoyed a pretty sweet lifestyle most of our careers.

I will not repeat what the Marines say when I bring up this subject. I tell them that most FSOs are not wimps and weenies. I will not share this article with them and I hope they do not see it. How could I explain this wailing and gnashing of teeth? . . .

Calling Iraq a death sentence is just way over the top. I volunteered to come here aware of the risks but confident that I will come safely home, as do the vast majority of soldiers and Marines, who have a lot riskier jobs than we FSOs do. . . .

If these guys at the town hall meeting do not want to come to Iraq, that is okay with [me]. I would not want that sort out here with me anyway. We have enough trouble w/o having to baby sit. BUT they are not worldwide available and they might consider the type of job that does not require worldwide availability.

We all know that few FSOs will REALLY be forced to come to Iraq anyway. Our system really does not work like that. This sound and fury at Foggy Bottom truly signifies nothing. Get over it! I do not think many Americans feel sorry for us and it is embarrassing for people with our privileges to paint ourselves as victims.

You can read the whole thing and, if you are so inclined, the several dozen comments it provoked, roughly half supportive, half vituperative, at blogs.state.gov. ♦

Get a (Second) Life, cont.

Because real life is not interesting enough, Second Life continues to entertain, providing diversion in the form of a lawsuit filed on October 24 in New York by several residents of the virtual online world against another resident, on the charge of intellectual property theft. (For a refresher on the virtual world, see Jonathan V. Last's "Get a (Second) Life!" in our October 1 issue.)

The facts of the case, *Eros et al* v. *Thomas Simon a/k/a Rase Kenzo* (Kenzo is Simon's avatar in the virtual online world known as Second Life) boil down to this: The plaintiffs are all vendors of virtual gewgaws inside Second Life. They sell pretend shoes, pretend clothes, and other such. Lead plaintiff Eros is a company that creates pretend sex toys. The plaintiffs charge that Simon (and ten Second Life John Does) exploited a glitch in the Second Life software to copy their wares and resell them at Second Life "yard sales" in an attempt to "unjustly profit from the fame of and goodwill associated with the Plaintiffs' Marks."

This is not the first Second Life lawsuit to hit American courts—that distinction went to a Pennsylvania man who sued parent company Linden Lab in 2006 for suspending his Second Life account and depriving him of his virtual assets. But *Eros et al* is the first suit brought in federal court. The plaintiffs are asking for damages equal to three times the profits they lost as a result of Simon's alleged piracy.

Simon claims that the case rests on evidence acquired when the plaintiffs entered his pretend Second Life house and took pictures of the copied merchandise, and that if he's going to be held to RL (that's real life) rules, then so should be the plaintiffs.

So many wonderful possibilities! Will the court order the defendant to make his restitution in the pretend Second Life currency, the Linden? Will anyone show up at the trial dressed like a giant lizard (the lead plaintiff's avatar is "Stroker Serpentine")? And if Second Life were to establish its own court system, would anyone be able to tell it apart from the Ninth Circuit? ♦

Buy This Pamphlet!

The best essay The Scrapbook read this week is not appearing in The Weekly Standard, for a change, but was written by our colleague, Dean Barnett. *The Plucky Smart Kid with the Fatal Disease*, Dean's reflections on life with cystic fibrosis, has just been published

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(Classic Steiner, reprinted from our issue of February 8, 1999)

by the New Pamphleteer and can be purchased (and downloaded) from the website pamphleteerpress.com. It's a beautiful piece of work: funny and delicate and tough and lovely in equal parts. ♦

Something Wicklund This Way Comes

Last week the *New York Times* profiled Dr. Susan Wicklund, author of the forthcoming book *This Common Secret: My Journey as an Abortion Doctor*. It seems like just the sort of book *Times* readers will want to add to their holiday shopping lists: Wicklund, who describes her own abortion as legal but "ghastly," was moved to become an abortionist in order to provide her patients with a better experience.

After having witnessed an abortion of a 21-week-old fetus, Wicklund "writes that at the sight of its tiny arm she decided she would perform abortions only in the first trimester of pregnancy." Not that there's anything wrong with second- or third-trimester procedures, Wicklund explains. It's just that she herself can't handle the sight of something that looks so, well, human.

Asked if delivering babies would be a more rewarding experience, Wicklund replies, "Women are so grateful to know they can get through this safely, that they can still get pregnant again. It is one of the few areas of medicine where you are not working with a sick person, you are doing something for them that gives them back their life, their control. It's a very rewarding thing to be a part of that." Sure beats helping sick people. ♦

Antioch Update

Shortly after we printed Charlotte Allen's cover story on Antioch College last week ("Death by Political Correctness"), the trustees of parent Antioch University, at the importuning of college alumni, granted a stay of execution for the Yellow Springs, Ohio, institution, contingent on alumni meeting a series of fundraising deadlines over the next three years.

Antioch College had been scheduled to suspend operations at the end of June 2008. According to an account of the deal published by *insidehighered.com*, "the agreements announced by the college focus on continuing Antioch courses for current students and there are no plans to recruit a new freshman class to enroll in the fall. In an interview [November 4], a university spokeswoman said that new freshmen would not be recruited until the curriculum was revised and facilities were substantially improved—a process that will take at least a year and could take longer." ♦

Corrections

A caption last week referred to Ohio governor Ted Strickland as Terry Strickland. In the same article ("The Republicans Have a Chance"), Ohio Republican congressman Pat Tiberi was misspelled as Pat Teaberry. Our apologies to both gentlemen, not to mention the good people of Ohio. ♦

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Casual

Nil Nisi Bonum

I have a thing for obituaries. At my age, it's not yet a matter of keeping score against my contemporaries. It's more a taste for the appreciative and anecdotal. Newspapers don't present much sweetness or humor, even on the review and feature pages. The obit, though, remains a sort of sociocultural *petit-four*.

Consider this specimen in the *Guardian* on October 18:

> Stephen Medcalf, emeritus reader in English at Sussex University, who has died aged 70, had one of the finest minds I have ever known. Not only could he recite reams of poetry in Greek, Latin, English and Anglo-Saxon, and whole stories by Kipling and P.G. Wodehouse, but—and this is what really marked him out—whatever he said about literature immediately struck one as true, fresh and profound.

You must have lived your life rather well to get such a paragraph written about you. That its author is the formidably brilliant Gabriel Josipovici means you may have lived more than well. The full obituary was an utter delight and later that night I dug out Josipovici's anthology *The Modern English Novel*, which contained a lovely piece on Wodehouse—history's greatest spreader of sweetness and light—by Stephen Medcalf. When was the last time a book review in a newspaper sent you off to your shelves?

We still have fine cultural reviews going in this country—the *New Criterion*, the *Yale Review*, the *Hudson Review*, to name just three. But they publish first-rate critical essays, which tend to the very serious, with the author intent on establishing the subject's canonical place. Such treatment is not what Stephen Medcalf needed. As Josipovici noted: "Though his friends and students knew that he had for years been working on a book on the development of Eliot's thought, we all sensed that he preferred to read and think and teach rather than to write, and, like his tutor Hugo Dyson, ended his career without a single major book to his name."

DARREN GYGI

The obituarist doesn't need Medcalf to have set Eliot studies on its head. He can appreciate the man for who he was and lay on a few delightful details: "The chaos of Stephen's room was legendary; students had to sweep books and papers off chairs to sit down, and received essays back with footprints on. After a while the cleaners went on strike and refused to enter his room."

Such are the plums that make me an obits man. Consider the domestic arrangements of the New York gallery owner Ileana Sonnabend, famous for showing all the excesses of Pop Art and the worse that followed, from the *Independent* on October 27:

> Through all of this, Sonnabend herself remained an enigma. Tiny, plump and sporting an unconvincing wig, her reticence was legendary. This extended to her philandering first husband, with whom she remained both friendly and on good business terms. Asked by reporters for her views on the 88-year-old Castelli's last marriage, to a woman 50 years his junior, Sonnabend discreetly answered, "I have many thoughts, but no statement."

You'll have noted that these extracts are British in origin. The competitiveness of the London newspapers extends even to death, with large obituary pages that aim to entertain (and attract) readers. The modern obituary was born there just over 20 years ago when Max Hastings put Hugh Montgomery-Massingberd in charge of the obits columns at the *Daily Telegraph*. In came elegant writing and an emphasis on humor and interesting lives—rather than just famous ones—and a preference for candor over tact.

A steady flow of entertaining lives are related in the *Telegraph*, *Times*, *Guardian*, and *Independent*, and they bond a certain type of reader to these papers far more than any original reporting could. Which is not to deprecate reporting: Where, but in the obits—in this case Robert Goulet's in the *Independent*—would you learn that, to her credit, Julie Andrews fought off the advances of both Richard Burton and Goulet while performing in *Camelot*?

> [Lyricist Alan Jay] Lerner later reported that Goulet had 'a severe crush' on Julie Andrews, who was happily married. Goulet reputedly asked Burton for advice, and Burton told Lerner, "Why did he come to me? I couldn't get anywhere, either."

This is news that stays news.

Robert Messenger

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Saving Antioch College

As an alumnus of Antioch College, I feel that Charlotte Allen's article on my alma mater ("Death by Political Correctness," November 12) mingled many elements of truth and sharp appraisal of the personalities and events that led to Antioch's decline with ideological gloating over missteps and irrelevancies of an institution that has become a favored punching bag for conservatives harping on the alleged failures of liberalism.

Alumni of Antioch College have asserted our loyalty and willingness to work and contribute money to the revival of the college. We have raised over $18 million in four and a half months. Distinguished and activist alumni are working together with the faculty and college community to revive a rigorous academic program, renew and expand the cooperative education experience, and forge a campus community culture of mutual respect, civility, diversity, and democratic participatory involvement.

Our passionate consensus is that this country needs Antioch College at its best, now more than ever. Antioch College graduates are leaders in the arts, education, law, politics, social activism, science, medicine, business, and the environment. Antioch alumni will ensure the college survives and prospers so that its heritage can continue for future generations of college students.

Joel Ellinwood
Sacramento, Calif.

Diplomatic Courage

The editorial "Of Diplomats and Men" (November 12) by William Kristol and Dean Barnett was a depressing read for me, as a retired foreign service officer who survived the attack on our embassy in Kuwait some 24 years ago. My family was twice evacuated from dangerous postings for which we had volunteered. After the bombing in Kuwait in 1983, I asked my wife if she wished to come back to Kuwait, and she said of course we weren't going to let the terrorists win.

I retired from the State Department

over ten years ago. Three years ago, I contacted an assistant secretary and asked if she needed old hands like me, I'd be willing to go to Iraq. She declined my request, basically telling me that they needed younger blood, although she didn't quite put it that way. I tell you this so no one could accuse me of asking others to do what I would be unwilling to do myself.

I can't express how angry and embarrassed I am about foreign service officer John Croddy's opposition to assignment in Iraq because it would be a "potential death sentence." Croddy dishonors our former colleagues who have given their lives defending American diplomatic interests. I can't believe such a person is an American foreign service officer. I can only hope he is shunned for the unbelievable dishonor he has brought on to the career diplomatic corps.

Nicholas J. Ricciuti
North East, Md.

A Study of Sleaze

Matt Labash's article on hatchet man Roger Stone ("Roger Stone, Political Animal," November 5) disturbed me greatly.

Labash's story is amusing and well-written, as usual, but also chilling. That Stone oozes on the side of the angels doesn't excuse his conduct. Here's a man who told a lie as a kid, got a buzz from the results, and has achieved great success in politics, mostly working for Republicans. And he's not the only one, or the worst, but merely one of many sleazebags, of all political stripes, who engage in conduct most decent people would find repellent.

But kudos to Matt Labash. Now I understand why I'm always stuck voting for the evil of two lessers.

Dave Skinner
Whitefish, Mont.

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the weekly Standard

Say It's So, Joe

If a senator gives a speech, and no major newspaper reports it, does it matter? Joe Lieberman spoke in Washington Thursday on "the politics of national security." The next day, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and *USA Today* ignored his talk. Most Democrats will ignore it. But five guys named Rudy, John, Fred, Mitt, and Mike will read it. So should you. To that end, we're happy to provide excerpts from the remarks of the independent Democrat from Connecticut:

> Between 2002 and 2006, there was a battle within the Democratic Party. . . . We could rightly criticize the Bush administration when it failed to live up to its own rhetoric, or when it bungled the execution of its policies. But I felt that we should not minimize the seriousness of the threat from Islamist extremism, or the fundamental rightness of the muscular, internationalist, and morally self-confident response that President Bush had chosen in response to it.
>
> But that was not the choice most Democrats made. . . . Since retaking Congress in November 2006, the top foreign policy priority of the Democratic Party has not been to expand the size of our military for the war on terror or to strengthen our democracy promotion efforts in the Middle East or to prevail in Afghanistan. It has been to pull our troops out of Iraq, to abandon the democratically elected government there, and to hand a defeat to President Bush.
>
> Iraq has become the singular litmus test for Democratic candidates. No Democratic presidential primary candidate today speaks of America's moral or strategic responsibility to stand with the Iraqi people against the totalitarian forces of radical Islam, or of the consequences of handing a victory in Iraq to al Qaeda and Iran. And if they did, their campaign would be as unsuccessful as mine was in 2006. Even as evidence has mounted that General Petraeus' new counterinsurgency strategy is succeeding, Democrats have remained emotionally invested in a narrative of defeat and retreat in Iraq, reluctant to acknowledge the progress we are now achieving. . . .
>
> I offered an amendment earlier this fall, together with Senator Jon Kyl of Arizona, urging the Bush administration to designate Iran's Revolutionary Guard Corps as a terrorist organization and impose economic sanctions on them.
>
> The reason for our amendment was clear. In September, General Petraeus and Ambassador Crocker testified before Congress about the proxy war that Iran—and in particular, the IRGC and its Quds Force subsidiary—has been waging against our troops in Iraq. Specifically, General Petraeus told us that the IRGC Quds Force has been training, funding, equipping, arming, and in some cases directing Shiite extremists who are responsible for the murder of hundreds of American soldiers. . . .
>
> Although the Senate passed our amendment, 76-22, several Democrats, including some of the Democratic presidential candidates, soon began attacking it—and Senator Clinton, who voted for the amendment. In fact, some of the very same Democrats who had cosponsored the legislation in the spring, urging the designation of the IRGC, began denouncing our amendment for doing the exact same thing.
>
> . . . [T]here is something profoundly wrong—something that should trouble all of us—when we have elected Democratic officials who seem more worried about how the Bush administration might respond to Iran's murder of our troops, than about the fact that Iran is murdering our troops.
>
> There is likewise something profoundly wrong when we see candidates who are willing to pander to this politically paranoid, hyper-partisan sentiment in the Democratic base—even if it sends a message of weakness and division to the Iranian regime.
>
> For me, this episode reinforces how far the Democratic Party of 2007 has strayed. . . . That is why I call myself an Independent Democrat today. It is because my foreign policy convictions are the convictions that have traditionally animated the Democratic Party—but they exist in me today independent of the current Democratic Party, which has largely repudiated them.
>
> I hope that Democrats will one day again rediscover and re-embrace these principles. . . . But regardless of when or if that happens, those convictions will continue to be mine. And I will continue to fight to advance them along with like-minded Democrats and like-minded Republicans.

• • •

Read the whole speech on Lieberman's website. As for Rudy and John and Fred and Mitt and Mike: Take a break from kissing babies to pick up the phone and congratulate Joe. Seek his endorsement after you win the nomination. What the heck—offer him the vice presidency. (Rudy, you might try State or Defense, since you'll need a pro-life running mate.) But McCain-Lieberman, Thompson-Lieberman, Romney-Lieberman, Huckabee-Lieberman—those sound like winning tickets to us. It's true, given the behavior of the congressional Democrats, the GOP nominee might well win with a more conventional running mate. But why settle for a victory if you can have a realignment?

—*William Kristol*

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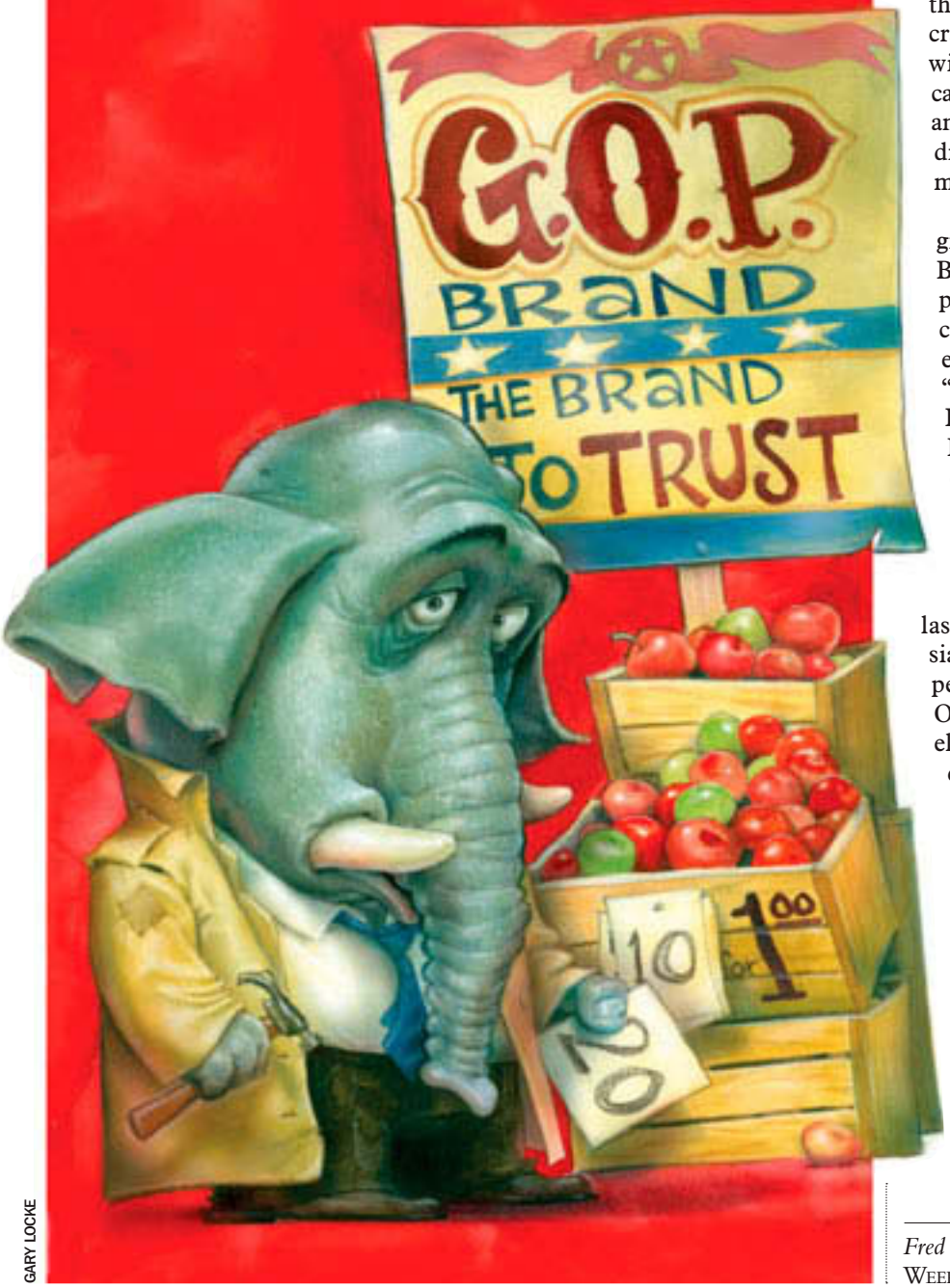
Off-Year Blues . . .

But next year, Republicans may be singing a happier tune

BY FRED BARNES



GARY LOCKE

Republicans lost the governorship of Kentucky and the state senate in Virginia last week. But the elections were not as bad as they looked for Republicans. Knocked down and trampled on by Democrats in 2006, Republicans are at least back on their feet in 2007.

The Democratic trend in Virginia, especially in the suburbs of Washington and urban centers of Hampton Roads, was the most discouraging aspect for Republicans. It reinforced the likelihood that former Democratic governor Mark Warner will win the seat of retiring Republican senator John Warner next year and suggested the long Democratic drought at the presidential level might be ending.

The last Democrat to win Virginia was Lyndon Johnson in 1964. Bush won the state in 2004 by 8 points. "The right Democratic candidate can win Virginia," Governor Tim Kaine said last week. "The wrong Democrat can't." Kaine, a Democrat, has endorsed Barack Obama for the Democratic presidential nomination. So you can guess who he thinks is the "wrong Democrat."

Taking into account Republican Bobby Jindal's election last month as governor of Louisiana and the strong (but losing) performance of Republican Jim Ogonowski in a special House election in a heavily Democratic district in Massachusetts, Republicans are in considerably better shape now than a year ago.

The Republican brand. It is far from what it once was, particularly in Virginia, but it appears to be gradually regaining respectability. The most startling example was the upset victory of Greg Ballard as mayor of Indianapolis. Badly outspent and lacking strong name identification, Ballard knocked off a two-term Democratic incumbent.

In Mississippi, Republi-

Fred Barnes is executive editor of THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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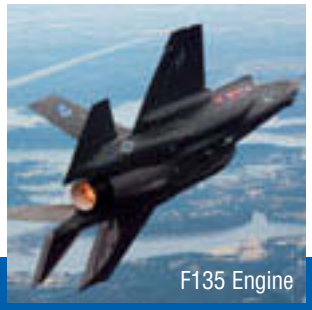
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cans made serious inroads. Governor Haley Barbour was reelected with ease, and Republicans took all but one statewide office. In Louisiana, Republicans have a chance to win the state house in next week's runoff election. They must win 11 of 16 races, an unlikely event, but possible since Katrina drove more than 100,000 Democrats from the state.

Better yet, Republicans have a candidate in Louisiana to challenge Democratic senator Mary Landrieu in 2008. This is John Kennedy, who recently switched parties, and was unopposed in his reelection as state treasurer.

Taxes. The tax issue—no, the anti-tax issue—wasn't a factor in the 2006 election, but it's coming back. Republicans desperately need it. It's the one issue that binds Republicans of all ideological stripes while also attracting independents and soft Democrats.

Ballard's victory in Indianapolis was spurred by his opposition to raising property taxes and to a county income tax. In Washington, a generally blue state, voters rejected two referendums to increase taxes and passed another bolstering the legislative super-majority required to enact a tax hike. In Oregon, voters refused to raise cigarette taxes to pay for child health care.

> Taking into account results last month in Louisiana and even Massachusetts, Republicans are in considerably better shape now than a year ago.

The Democratic presidential candidates have helped revive the tax issue by insisting on letting the Bush tax cuts expire. And the Democratic chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Charles Rangel, has proposed a 4 percent surtax on high earners.

New Republican faces. There aren't many, but then only a few states hold elections in odd years. The most important newcomer is Jindal, 36, one of the most impressive Republicans in the country. He is both a policy-generating machine and a smart politician. Jindal is bound to attract national attention.

Immigration. This issue continues to be far less of a vote-grabber than Republicans believe. Advocating a tough crackdown on illegal immigrants "helped in a few places but not statewide" in Virginia, said Larry Sabato of the University of Virginia. Republican congressman Tom Davis said the issue may have saved two seats in the state house of delegates, which remained in Republican control.

Whether Republicans hurt themselves among Hispanic voters statewide is unclear. In his campaign for governor in 2005, Republican Jerry Kilgore emphasized a policy of denying any state aid to illegal immigrants. The issue didn't work and he lost to Democrat Tim Kaine.

Republicans see two rays of hope in Virginia. Davis, whose wife lost her state senate seat, said the Republican brand is still tarnished. But Republican candidates did better in the outer suburbs of Washington and the suburbs of Norfolk and Newport News than they had in 2005 or 2006. These are the fastest growing areas of the state and the areas of Republican strength.

Sabato, the leading expert on Virginia politics, believes the cycle favoring Democrats that began with Mark Warner's election as governor in 2001 may be "nearing its peak with Warner's campaign for senator" in 2008. The previous cycle, for Republicans, lasted from 1993 to 2001.

The biggest fear of Virginia Democrats is Hillary Clinton. If she wins the Democratic presidential nomination, she'll unite Republicans, drive away "swing independent moderates," and lose Virginia, Sabato says. "She'll start another Republican cycle." Republicans certainly hope so. ♦

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Don't Blame Democracy

It's still the solution—not the problem.

BY PETER WEHNER

Two and a half years ago—in the wake of elections in Afghanistan, the Palestinian territories, and especially Iraq (as well as the fall of Lebanon's pro-Syrian government)—we were witness to what became known as the "Arab Spring." Commentators were declaring President Bush's "freedom agenda" a success.

In February 2005, *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman declared the Iraqi election a "tipping point" in Middle East history. "[W]e're seeing the equivalent of the fall of the Berlin Wall there," Friedman said. Such unlikely voices as NPR's Daniel Schorr, the *Washington Post*'s Jefferson Morley, and columnists in *Der Spiegel* and the *Guardian* were saying, explicitly or in essence, "Bush was right."

Today the situation looks very different. The Freedom Agenda is being criticized from almost every quarter—and the main reason is Iraq. It is said that our efforts to plant democracy there have been a colossal failure. Iraq is fractured and fragmenting, violent, and politically paralyzed. Whereas exporting democracy was once considered a worthy endeavor, many people now fear it will usher in chaos. A bumper sticker puts it this way: "Be Nice to Us, or We Will Bring Democracy to You."

But Iraq's problems are not the product of democracy, and they shouldn't be laid at the feet of liberty. In fact, the causes of Iraq's difficulties lie elsewhere.

For one thing, the Phase IV (post-major combat operations) plan was deeply flawed. After 35 years of Saddam Hussein's demonic rule, Iraq was a traumatized society. In many respects, it was nonfunctioning. The Bush administration (in which I served) did not sufficiently anticipate this. In the aftermath of the fall of Saddam, basic order was not provided. For too long there was an aversion among some in the administration to nation-building, even though we had taken on one of the great nation-building projects in history. We tried to hand over responsibility to the Iraqi Security Forces before they were ready. There was a reluctance to recognize the growing insurgency—and once we did, it took too long to put in place the right counterinsurgency strategy.

Fortunately President Bush, facing enormous political pressure to wind down the war, refused to give up on Iraq. Eventually he made wholesale changes, including embracing the idea of "the surge" earlier this year. Under the extraordinary leadership of General David Petraeus and his team, the right strategy has now been put in place. This year is turning out to be a much better year than 2006. Almost every meaningful security metric is improving. The task in Iraq remains difficult—but we now have a decent shot at a decent outcome.

Beyond that, al Qaeda made Iraq the central front in its jihadist campaign. Osama bin Laden, Ayman al Zawahiri, and Abu Musab al Zarqawi—all non-Iraqis—pursued their strategy with cunning savagery; they successfully turned sectarian tensions into widespread sectarian violence. The presence of brutal foreign terrorists in that tortured land made a difficult situation far more challenging.

And then there is Syria—and especially Iran, which is training and financing militias, exporting weapons to Iraq, and inciting violence. Iran is the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism, and it is earning that appellation every day in Iraq.

What happened, then, was that Iraqis emerge from decades of tyranny deeply scarred, only to be met by widespread disorder, foreign terrorists, and hostile neighbors. These factors, and not democracy, are what has made the Iraq undertaking so difficult. Tony Blair has rightly argued that if these elements had not been introduced, we would be facing a far more manageable situation.

Our efforts in Iraq did not catalyze, as George Will predicted in 2002, "a ripple effect, a happy domino effect, if you will, of democracy knocking over these medieval tyrannies." (Will added this, for good measure: "Condoleezza Rice is quite right. She says there is an enormous condescension in saying that somehow the Arab world is just not up to democracy.")

Nor did elections drain the insurgency of its hatred and convince militias to exchange bullets for ballots. But because liberty hasn't solved all of Iraq's problems doesn't mean it is

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Peter Wehner, former deputy assistant to the president, is a senior fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center.

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responsible for them. The most stirring moments we have seen in Iraq remain the elections, which produced a constitution and a legitimate (if quite weak and imperfect) government. Elections, as well as the painstaking work of building democratic institutions, remain the pathway to progress. Most Iraqis want their freedom, and many of them are fighting valiantly to preserve it.

In the aftermath of the heady days of 2005, James Q. Wilson cautioned that it takes a long time to convert a nation accustomed to authoritarian rule—and Saddam Hussein's regime was much worse than that—into one that embraces democratic rule. A rapid transition, he wrote, has never been possible, and ought not be expected. But that doesn't mean we should halt our effort to encourage the spread of liberty. Wilson pointed out that "no nation will aggressively dominate a region if its citizens can control its foreign policy through free and democratic elections."

Nations once thought to be incapable of self-government have shown they are more than capable, even as their ways do not mirror our own. Indonesia is different from India, which in turn is different from South Korea, which in turn is different from Senegal, which in turn is different from Canada. Because Iraq has proven to be a very complicated and difficult undertaking, this does not subvert the democratic idea, any more than Germany's election in 1933, which brought Hitler to power, did. Bear in mind, too, that American democracy lived with slavery for almost a century, and it required a bloody civil war to end it. Moreover, the alternatives to freedom—whether authoritarianism, despotism, or antimodernism—are hardly the cornerstones on which to build tranquility and prosperity. The Arab Middle East was a cauldron of violence and instability long before George W. Bush took office.

The United States helped midwife freedom in a land of tears. It was a noble undertaking, among the most noble in our history, and it is worth seeing through to completion. ♦

Don't Give Up The Ships

The Navy's flawed new strategy

BY SETH CROPSEY

The war on terror is being fought almost entirely on land, and the public neither knows about nor appreciates the U.S. Navy's contribution to these conflicts. No terrorists have struck from the sea, and although China is seeking to transform its economic success into naval power, the threat does not appear imminent. With the number of U.S. combat ships continuing to drop, the Navy's leadership needs to recapture public awareness of its role in protecting the nation's security and demonstrate that the fleet is relevant.

The U.S. Navy is a flexible and powerful instrument that can control the seas, defend the nation at a distance, apply power to foreign shores, demonstrate national will, and deter conflict. It does not, however, do all of this equally well. Deciding which missions to stress and which to minimize is among the Navy leadership's most important tasks.

In October, the Navy published a new maritime strategy called "A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Sea Power," which, as its name suggests, focuses on deterring conflict primarily by partnerships with other navies. The new strategy cites an "uncertain future" and identifies the possible threats of failed or failing states, religious fanaticism, social and demographic instability, drug trafficking, piracy, climate change, coastal flooding, and humanitarian crises such as pandemics and natural disasters. It argues that no single nation possesses the ability to "counter these emerging threats." The Navy—together with the Marines and Coast Guard—is to forge international partnerships, develop trust, and learn foreign languages and cultural awareness. (The new maritime strategy document is sprinkled with pictures of U.S. military personnel providing humanitarian assistance around the world.)

Increasing the U.S. military's ability to work with other nations' armed forces, and improving our own understanding of—and thus ability to influence—critical states and regions is perfectly sensible. Such a strategy could indeed help prevent some wars. But the new document never makes the case that its list of human and natural catastrophes represents a substantial change in the causes of war. Ambition, religion, fear, and revenge have an ancient track record; coastal flooding does not. Moreover, if the Navy is concentrating on preventing wars, what happens to its ability to win them should deterrence fail?

This is an important question, for the failure of deterrence is more likely today than it was during the Cold War. Martyrdom has an attraction for jihadist fanatics that those who held religion to be a drug never imagined. There are also questions to be asked about the new strategy's view of traditional deterrence. The document mentions by name the geographic regions of the North Atlantic, the Arctic, the Western Pacific, Western Hemisphere, Africa, and the Arabian Gulf/Indian Ocean, but the word "China" never appears. Indeed, the document contains the observation that "war with another great power strikes many as improbable." Not an endorsement of the view,

Seth Cropsey is a fellow at the Hudson Institute. He served as an officer in the Naval Reserve and as deputy undersecretary of the Navy in the Reagan and George H.W. Bush administrations.

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but certainly a favorable mention consistent with the new strategy's emphasis on naval cooperation in the service of avoiding conflict rather than naval readiness to answer it.

China's purchases of advanced Russian antiship missiles and quieting technology have helped to turn the Chinese submarine fleet into a serious threat. We rely on sophisticated and complex "net-centric" systems to provide tactical information to ships and commanders, and those networks rely on satellites. China demonstrated its ability to shoot down satellites in January. The new strategy does observe that the "asymmetric use of technology" is a danger. Will shifting our strategic focus towards humanitarian assistance through cooperation with other naval forces address the asymmetry of a contest between China's ability to destroy satellites and our ability to communicate essential combat information throughout the fleet?

The newly christened *USNS Alan Shepard* in December 2006

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

But if the new strategy's view of the causes and kinds of future war is perplexing, the potential consequences are downright troublesome. The idea for the U.S. Navy to cooperate with the fleets of other like-minded states in the cause of avoiding conflict was originally called the "1,000-ship navy." (The name alluded to Cold War maritime strategy with its overriding goal of a "600-ship" combat fleet.) But the moniker did not survive the scrutiny of the State Department and the foreign governments whose cooperation the strategy seeks. An American-led 1,000-ship force sounded too aggressive, and so the concept was renamed the "global maritime partnerships." Under either name, the strategy encourages Americans to think that peace can be preserved by supplying humanitarian services and that a smaller fleet can do this because others will take up the slack. The 1,000-ship Navy is an organism whose nucleus is American, but whose mass is not.

If endorsed by Congress, the new strategy would create a Navy that tilts away from controlling the seas and its choke points, and from Alfred Thayer Mahan's still-applicable idea that the ability to destroy or contain an enemy's fleets translates into victory, not just at sea, but in war itself. The new strategy's reliance on friendly cooperation will create and nurture political support for an even smaller fleet, and the U.S. Navy today already has fewer than half as many combat ships as it did in 1988.

The new strategy's silence about resources—including the number of ships required to implement it—does nothing to dispute the current notion that the U.S. fleet size and downsizing trend are acceptable for the nation's security. In this calculation it is oddly similar to a seminal naval document from 1902: the British Admiralty's "Memorandum on Sea-Power and the Principles Involved in It." The memorandum offered wisdom about the value of sea control that would have gratified its intellectual father, Mahan, but took Britain's naval preeminence for granted. It passed over the question of ship numbers and set the stage for Britain's decline. Desiderata trumped the means to accomplish them.

In 1902, the Royal Navy was also keen to build cooperative arrangements—with Japan's then-rising imperial navy, for example—to help protect their lines of communication through the Pacific and Indian oceans. Control of these was critical to the empire, and British strategists shifted the responsibility for them to others. The proposed U.S. maritime strategy does something very similar, and history proved Britain's shift to be an exercise in self-delusion.

Shifting our Navy's missions away from fighting wars towards preventing them, even if the futuristic and unproven assumptions of the new maritime strategy about the new causes of wars are correct, risks the self-deception that superior power has lost its ability to persuade. Such a delusion cannot improve the United States' security.

Still, the "Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Sea Power" may prove very useful. It could refocus attention on the Navy's critical role as a guarantor of the ocean's peace, a necessity that will survive long after the present wars in Iraq and Afghanistan end. A debate over maritime strategy could also remind the nation that the Navy's two-and-a-half decade contraction endangers our position as a superpower.

But adopting those parts of the new strategy that transform the Navy into an international relief agency that equates humanitarian assistance with the prevention of war would circumscribe existing U.S. naval power, and—by its dependence on others—unintentionally lay the political and intellectual foundation for a smaller fleet. The cure would be worse than the disease. ♦

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Ahmadine-Jets

Welcome to the Iranian Air Force.

BY REUBEN F. JOHNSON

In the old westerns, it was not uncommon to see a final showdown in which the white hats confront the black hats with an accusation of perfidy: "So it's you that's been sellin' rifles to those Injuns." Something like these recriminations is taking place on an international scale now, although there is more than one seller and the consequences are more ominous.

In late October, the Russian newspaper *Kommersant* reported that China's Chengdu Aircraft Industry Group will sell 24 of its new-generation Jian-10 (J-10) fighter aircraft to Iran in a contract valued at $1 billion. The Moscow-based daily received the information from a source inside HESA—a division of the Iran Aircraft Manufacturing consortium. This would be the first purchase of a new-generation combat system by the Iranian air force since the early 1990s. (China's state-run Xinhua news agency denounced the story as "false and irresponsible" and denied that there have been any negotiations, but did not outright deny the sale.)

Last week, the Paris-based defense and strategy publication *TTU* reported that China is planning to supply the J-10 to Syria as well. The Chengdu fighter would replace an aging arsenal of Russian aircraft largely acquired by Damascus during the Soviet era. Intelligence on the growing cooperation between Syria and Iran indicates that Tehran will finance this Syrian procurement. Having the two allied nations operate the same front-line fighter aircraft will create economies of scale, for instance by allowing maintenance and servicing facilities to be shared.

Reuben F. Johnson, a defense and aerospace technology writer, is a regular contributor to THE WORLDWIDE STANDARD *at weeklystandard.com.*

Russia's connection to the J-10 and the reason for the report originating from *Kommersant* is that the J-10s are powered by the AL-31FN jet engine built by the Salyut Production Association in Moscow, generally considered to be the most advanced military engine manufacturer in Russia. Chinese industry has struggled but failed to develop a reliable, high-performance jet engine. Both of China's new-generation fighters—the J-10 and the FC-1/JF-17—are powered with Russian engines.

Iran has until now been reluctant to purchase much in the way of new aircraft, having been content to maintain their older-model U.S.-built aircraft that they acquired during the time of the shah. Iran also has its own indigenous jet program, the Saeqeh (Lightning). But this plane is a copy of the old Northrop F-5, and is at least two generations removed from state-of-the-art military technology.

The Chinese J-10s are to be delivered between 2008 and 2010 and appear to be meant to replace the aging J-7 fighters that were acquired from China more than two decades ago in the Khomeini era. The J-7, interestingly, is flown not by the regular Iranian air force, but by the air arm of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps. The J-10's mission, according to a Russian military analyst who spoke to the *Novosti* news agency in Moscow, will be to defend Iran's Bushehr nuclear reactor site, which is being completed with Russian assistance.

Chinese-Iranian cooperation is not news. Iran has been a buyer of Chinese weapons since the early days of the Islamic Republic, and Chinese-designed weapons have been produced under license in Iranian factories. Last July during the military conflict with Hezbollah, an Israeli naval vessel was heavily damaged by an Iranian-produced model of the Chinese C802 antiship missile.

But the J-10 is a far greater problem for Israel and other nations worried about Iran's nuclear ambitions. It's a matter of no small irony that Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI) helped make the J-10 the advanced fighter that it is.

In 1987 IAI was forced to cancel a program to build an indigenous fighter, the Lavi (Lion). The Lavi was a modified version of the Lockheed Martin F-16 already being used by the Israeli Air Force, but cost significantly more than the U.S.-made fighter. So the Israeli Air Force opted to stick with the off-the-shelf model.

Some time later, the technical details of the Lavi were provided to Chengdu, although no government has ever officially acknowledged this fact. When the J-10 was rolled out in a public ceremony in Beijing late last year, a report in the Singapore *Straits Times* noted the obvious: "The Jian-10 aircraft that China unveiled recently bears a striking resemblance to the Lavi. . . . The Jian-10's sophisticated pilot helmet, which allows missiles to be aimed in the direction of the pilot's eyes, is almost certainly of Israeli origin. So are the missiles themselves, which appear to be based on the Python 4 variety manufactured by Israel's Rafael Armaments Development Authority. Neither side will admit it, but the Lavi aircraft died in Israel and has now been reborn in China."

Inspiration for the J-10, which is now in service with China's air force in large numbers, did not come just from Israel. When asked early this year for his assessment of the J-10, Pan Kong-hsiao, director of the Taiwanese National Defense University's air force department, told the *Taipei Times* that "the aircraft is the result of a combination of technology from four countries—Israel, the United States, Russia, and China."

Significant U.S. defense technology was acquired by Beijing prior to the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, but defense-related sales have been embargoed since then. The European Union also agreed to embargo defense sales to China, but in recent years there has

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Iran is most likely to use the J-10's full range of air-to-air and air-to-ground weaponry to defend the Bushehr nuclear reactor complex.

been no shortage of efforts by the EU to lift that embargo—despite the abundant evidence that anything made in China will be sold to Iran.

Former French president Jacques Chirac was industrious in this regard. On January 27, 2004, he held a joint conference with Chinese president Hu Jintao to celebrate the "Year of China" in Paris and used the occasion to publicly call for the lifting of the EU arms embargo. France and Germany later succeeded in pushing the EU to review the matter.

While the two EU giants favored an outright end to the ban, a 1998 EU law threw up another obstacle to arms sales to China. European arms exports remain tightly controlled by a 1998 code of conduct barring the sale of equipment that could be used in regional conflicts or domestic repression—a serious hurdle when it comes to China. Having been stymied by this regulation, France has tried to pass defense technology to China via a back door.

France's Délégation Générale pour l'Armement (DGA), which tightly controls all arms export sales, has been trying for more than a year to complete a sale of the Thales RC400 radar and MBDA Mica missiles to Pakistan for the JF-17 fighter. Although the JF-17 is being built under license in Pakistan, it is also a Chengdu design. The Pakistani Aeronautical Complex and its Chinese partners have comprehensive agreements that grant access for both parties to any technology acquired by the other.

Since the same French radar and missiles are on board the Taiwanese Air Force's French-built Dassault Mirage 2000 aircraft, acquisition of this technology by Beijing would be a considerable blow to the defense of the island nation. India, Pakistan's neighbor and rival, also operates the Mirage 2000. If France's DGA were to allow Pakistan to acquire the radar and missiles, Taiwan and India would see their air force's investment in French jets wiped out.

When this bit of skullduggery was reported for the first time last month by *Jane's* and the Associated Press, French industry first confirmed and then attempted to deny the sale had been proposed. But a Pakistani official has since confirmed to U.S.-based *Defense News* that prices for this technology had been proposed to them by the Délégation Générale pour l'Armement as far back as 18 months ago. The official added that export clearance for the transfer of this technology has now been granted. The inability of Pakistani authorities to control much of anything inside their country is legend, but the same official nonetheless disingenuously tried to calm the fears of many by stating that Pakistan and France have drawn up a memorandum of understanding in which Islamabad promises not to release technology to China.

The story of the Lavi demonstrates that the irresponsible sale of defense technology and know-how will inevitably come back in some form that haunts you. France and other EU nations do not seem to have learned that lesson. Perhaps Iran's acquisition of the J-10 will serve as a sobering reminder. ♦

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Big Labor, Big Plans

Unions look to cash in after '08.

BY WHITNEY BLAKE

Organized labor did well in the new Democratic Congress, winning a hike in the minimum wage and impeding the free trade treaties backed by President Bush. (The Peru trade deal passed in the House this week, but it was held up for months by Democrats, as the South Korea, Columbia, and Panama deals continue to be.) But these victories are small compared with what labor leaders expect to gain in 2009 if a Democrat wins the White House and the party makes gains in the Senate and the House. And they are preparing to give lavishly to the 2008 campaigns.

The AFL-CIO is planning to spend $53.4 million on get-out-the-vote efforts during the 2008 campaign, according to the *Wall Street Journal*. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees is aiming for $60 million. (Both organizations budgeted only $48 million in 2004.) The top spender in the 2004 election, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), also plans to exceed its 2004 budget of $65 million.

The prize for the unions is the card check system, which would allow a union to be established at a workplace by a simple majority of workers signing cards agreeing to unionization. At present, employees can form a union only after support is demonstrated through a secret ballot election. Unions win only about half of these elections. The card check system would in practice do away with any privacy in the individual decision to unionize.

Big Labor sees card checks as their chance at revitalization. In 1983, 20 percent of American workers were unionized; in 2006 it was down to 12 percent (36.2 percent of public sector workers and 7.4 percent of private). Card checks would increase the number of union members and are expected to almost double the size of unions' coffers. Rick Berman of the Center for Union Facts predicts that the unions could be "conservatively sitting on another $5 billion in dues money."

The card check system was the main objective of the Employee Free Choice Act (EFCA), defeated earlier this year in Congress. The measure passed the House by a vote of 241 to 185, but it was defeated in the Senate soundly with a cloture vote of 51 to 48, nine votes shy of the tally required to end debate. "We got closer than we ever have before," said Stephanie Mueller, assistant director of communications for the SEIU. "We're optimistic that EFCA will pass in the next Congress." Democrats only have a remote chance of picking up nine seats in the 2008 election, but a Democrat in the White House would brighten EFCA's prospects. All three leading Democratic presidential candidates have endorsed the card check system.

The act would exponentially increase organized labor's power on the political scene. Much of the new money would be poured into political campaigns and lobbying efforts. Organized labor would be "by far the largest political-financial institution in the country with an extremely left-leaning agenda," says Berman.

And then there is EFCA's mandatory arbitration requirement. After 90 days of contract negotiations, if either party calls for mediation, the government steps in. If another 30 days pass, a government-appointed arbitrator sets the wages, benefits, and advancement and grievance policies. "The government would come in and pick winners and losers in an industry," says Berman.

Business and trade associations hope they will still be able to court moderate Democrats, like those in the Blue Dog Coalition, and win a few battles. But many Democratic congressmen are indebted to Big Labor for their seats.

Unions poured $57.6 million into Democratic races in 2006 in individual donations and PAC contributions. Freshmen Blue Dog Democrats benefited significantly. Brad Ellsworth from Indiana's Eighth District received $316,100 from labor unions. Baron Hill of Indiana's Ninth District got $272,800. Nick Lampson of Texas's Twenty-Second District was given $292,050. Tim Mahoney from the Sixteenth District of Florida garnered $240,250, and Heath Shuler of North Carolina's Eleventh District got $273,000, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. All of them voted in favor of EFCA. The money could easily be funneled to alternative primary candidates in the next cycle if unions' expectations aren't met.

Beyond EFCA, Big Labor's priorities include a universal health care system, which could give unions more leeway in bargaining for higher wages and other benefits; continued blockage of trade bills; collective bargaining rights for Transportation Security Administration workers; and a further rise in the minimum wage.

Union officials also want to cut the budget of the Office of Labor-Management Standards (OLMS), the branch of the Department of Labor that oversees unions. The OLMS has in recent years ramped up its oversight of union finances and required greater disclosure. Cuts to this office might even happen in this Congress, as Democrats' proposed 2008 budget called for a reduction of the OLMS funding to 2006 levels. Attempts by Republicans in the House and the Senate to restore the OLMS budget for 2008 have been defeated, thanks to union pressure on Democrats.

Unions have a decent shot at success with their agenda because there is no formidable opposition. Big Business isn't as unified and often prefers concession over conflict. "Confrontation is bad for business," one trade association lobbyist notes. "Businesses have never been effective at combating labor." ♦

Whitney Blake is a business reporter for the Washington Examiner.

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How They Did It

Executing the winning strategy in Iraq

By Kimberly Kagan

The surge of operations that American and Iraqi forces began on June 15 has dramatically improved security in Baghdad and throughout Iraq. U.S. commanders and soldiers have reversed the negative trends of 2006, some of which date back to 2005. The total number of enemy attacks has fallen for four consecutive months, and has now reached levels last seen before the February 2006 Samarra mosque bombing. IED explosions have plummeted to late 2004 levels. Iraqi civilian casualties, which peaked at 3,000 in the month of December 2006, are now below 1,000 for the second straight month. The number of coalition soldiers killed in action has fallen for five straight months and is now at the lowest level since February 2004. These trends persisted through Ramadan, when violence had typically spiked. "I believe we have achieved some momentum," General Raymond T. Odierno, commander of coalition combat forces in Iraq, said modestly in his November 1 press briefing. Since security was deteriorating dramatically in Iraq a year ago, how U.S. commanders and soldiers and their Iraqi partners achieved this positive momentum deserves explanation, even though hard fighting continues and the war is not yet won.

"As we assess the security gains made over the past four months, I attribute the progress to three prominent dynamics," General Odierno explained. "First, the surge allowed us to eliminate extremist safe havens and sanctuaries, [and] just as importantly to maintain our gains. Second, the ongoing quantitative and qualitative improvement of the Iraqi security forces are translating to ever-increasing tactical successes. Lastly, there's a clear rejection of al Qaeda and other extremists by large segments of the population, this coupled with the bottom-up awakening movement by both Sunni and Shia who want a chance to reconcile with the government of Iraq." These dynamics worked together to improve security.

After President Bush decided to change strategy and increase the number of U.S. troops in Iraq, the goal became to secure Iraq's population from violence in order to allow civic and political progress. Generals David Petraeus and Odierno implemented the new strategy and determined how to use the additional troops.

Generals Petraeus and Odierno conducted three successive, large-scale military operations in 2007. The first was Fardh al-Qanoon, or the Baghdad Security Plan, which dispersed U.S. and Iraqi troops throughout the capital in order to secure its inhabitants. The second was Phantom Thunder, an Iraq-wide offensive to clear al Qaeda sanctuaries. The third was Phantom Strike, an Iraq-wide offensive to pursue al Qaeda operatives and other enemies as they fled those sanctuaries and attempted to regroup in smaller areas throughout Iraq. These military operations have improved security throughout central Iraq.

The additional forces, General Odierno explained, permitted "a surge in simultaneous and sustained offensive operations, in partnership with the Iraqi security forces. Furthermore, it allowed us to operate in areas that had not yet seen a sustained coalition presence and to retain our hard-fought gains. Our ability to put pressure on al Qaeda and other extremists and deny them safe havens and sanctuaries increased significantly. This was done with the goal of protecting the population and in concert with political and economic initiatives to buy time and space for the government of Iraq."

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MAPS: WEEKLY STANDARD / SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

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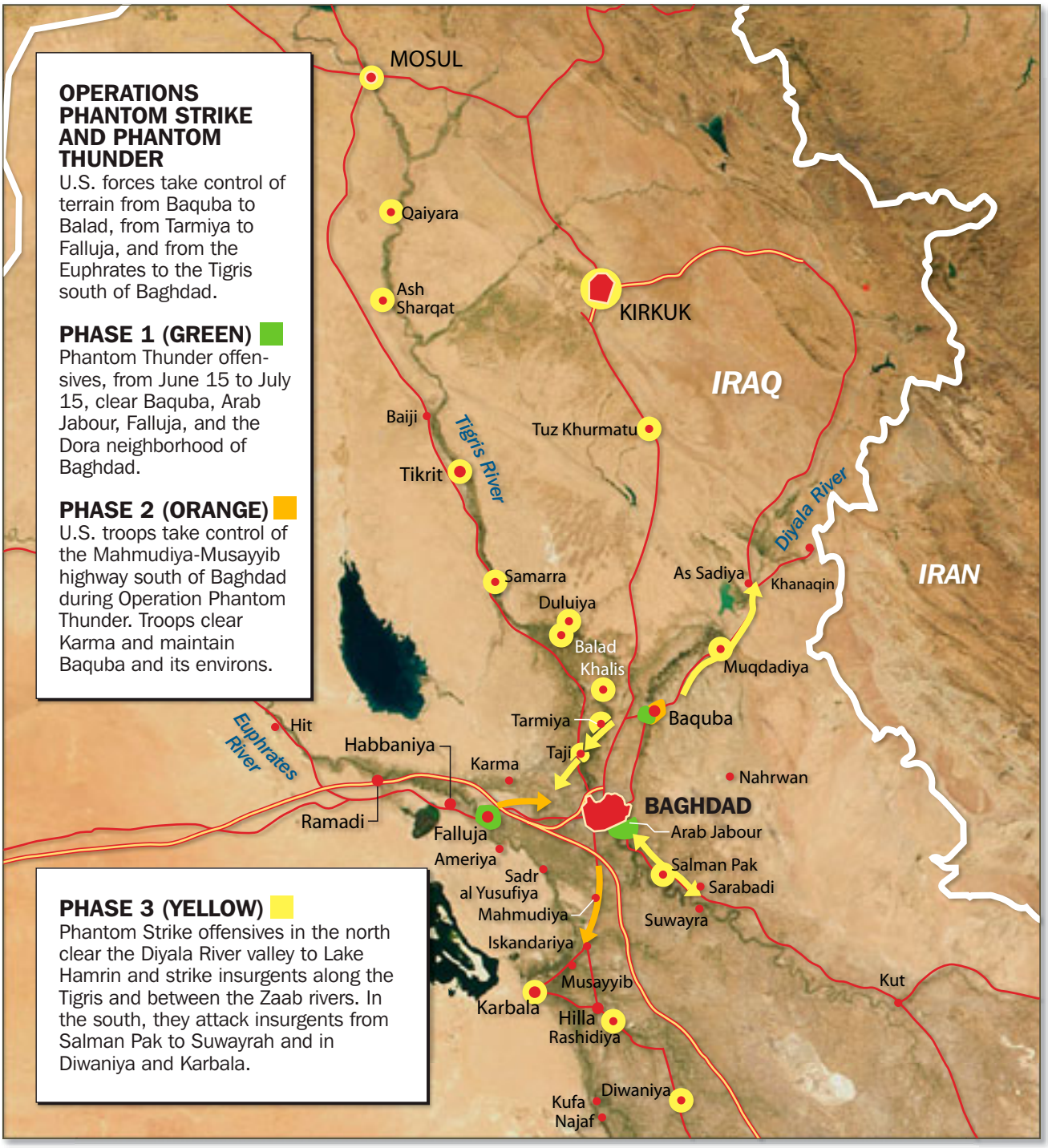

CLEARING ENEMY SANCTUARIES AND PROTECTING THE POPULATION

Competing enemy groups drove the sectarian violence in Baghdad in 2006. Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) launched spectacular attacks against civilians, particularly in Shia neighborhoods. Death squads, operating on behalf of extremist militia groups, purged mixed neighborhoods of their Sunni residents and intimidated Shia into compliance with their agenda. As a result, beleaguered Sunnis turned to al Qaeda for protection against death squads. Al Qaeda set up defensive positions in some neighborhoods, such as Dora in southwestern Baghdad, to defend the Sunni population against attack. The car bomb was al Qaeda's offensive weapon of choice, and the IED its preferred defensive

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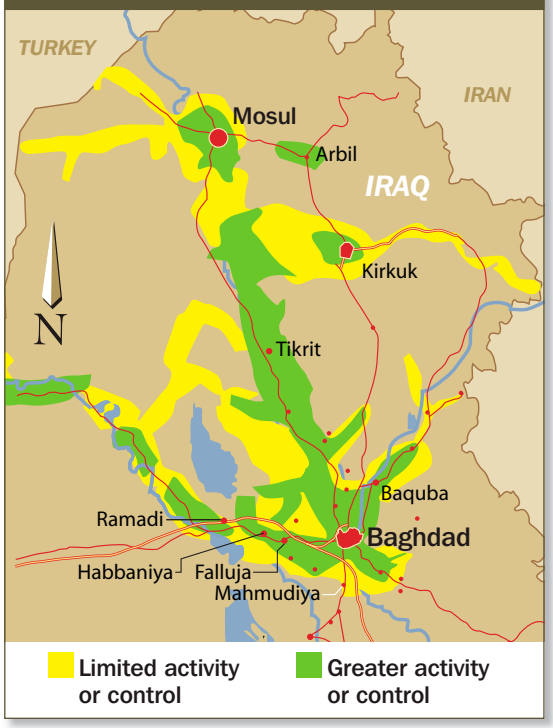
weapon. The Iraqi security forces could not remove al Qaeda from its fortified positions, nor could they stop the spectacular attacks. Shia death squads responded by increasing executions of Sunnis. By the end of 2006, al Qaeda and militia groups were fighting for control of territory in Baghdad.

U.S. commanders sent two of the five new brigades provided by the surge to Baghdad. As the Baghdad Security Plan began in February, U.S. and Iraqi troops in Baghdad adopted a new posture. They cleared some neighborhoods in order to locate their Joint Security Stations there. U.S. and Iraqi forces lived together at these small headquarters. They sent detachments from Joint Security Stations to smaller outposts and slowly spread throughout the city. They regularly engaged with the local population. They developed relationships with residents, gained their trust, and reconnoitered or cleared enemy positions. To establish safe neighborhoods and markets, they placed concrete barriers around positions vulnerable to car bomb attacks. The combination of more U.S. troops and the new mission of protecting the population drove down the number of execution-style killings in the capital.

Commanders positioned the other three additional brigades in Baghdad's "belts," the networks of roadways, rivers, and other lines of communication within a 30-mile radius of the capital. Al Qaeda's sustained campaign of vehicle bombing relied on an extensive support system outside the city to supply stolen and stripped vehicles, factories for converting them into vehicle bombs, explosives, money, and suicide bombers (most of them foreign). Al Qaeda's strongholds and sanctuaries were in Salman Pak, Arab Jabour, Falluja, Abu Ghraib, Karma, Tarmiya, and Baquba. In early 2006, al Qaeda also moved fighters along the Euphrates River valley between Anbar Province and North Babil. U.S. and Iraqi security forces were especially sparse in these rural areas.

The enemies of the coalition and the Iraqi government were able to use the terrain around Baghdad to funnel forces and supplies into the capital, to circumnavigate the city by highway, and to move from the city into the provinces. General Odierno identified the terrain between Karma and Tarmiya, south of Lake Tharthar, as "a known al Qaeda transit route." And some of the same al Qaeda operatives and couriers moved in each of the belts and through Baghdad. The spring '07 search for American soldiers kidnapped in Mahmudiya, south of Baghdad, led U.S. forces to Samarra, north of Baghdad, where the identification cards of two of the soldiers were found. Al Qaeda established emirs in the northern and southern belts in order to link its efforts in the different sanctuaries in these regions.

AREAS OF ACTIVITY OR CONTROL BY AL QAEDA IN IRAQ, JANUARY 2007



OPERATION PHANTOM THUNDER

Generals Petraeus and Odierno designed Operation Phantom Thunder to clear al Qaeda from its sanctuaries in the belts around Baghdad. Phantom Thunder consisted of multiple, simultaneous military operations around Baghdad designed to prevent the enemy from fleeing from one safe haven to another with impunity. Securing the capital from al Qaeda also required the dismantling of a car bombing network based in Karkh and Rusafa, neighborhoods in central Baghdad on both sides of the Tigris.

The Phantom Thunder offensive began on June 15, as soon as all the new brigades had arrived and were ready. Northeast of Baghdad, almost 10,000 U.S. and Iraqi forces surrounded Baquba and blocked the escape routes from the city along the Diyala River valley on June 18. U.S. forces south of Baghdad conducted clearing operations from north to south along the Tigris River valley, focusing first on the al Qaeda sanctuary in Arab Jabour on June 15. A large concentration of U.S. troops cleared the al Qaeda stronghold in the Baghdad neighborhood of Dora at the end of June and first several weeks of July. Marines, meanwhile, were clearing Falluja and Karma. Enemy attacks and U.S. casualties spiked during the first week of these major clearing operations, but both fell as U.S. forces drove the enemy from these sanctuaries.

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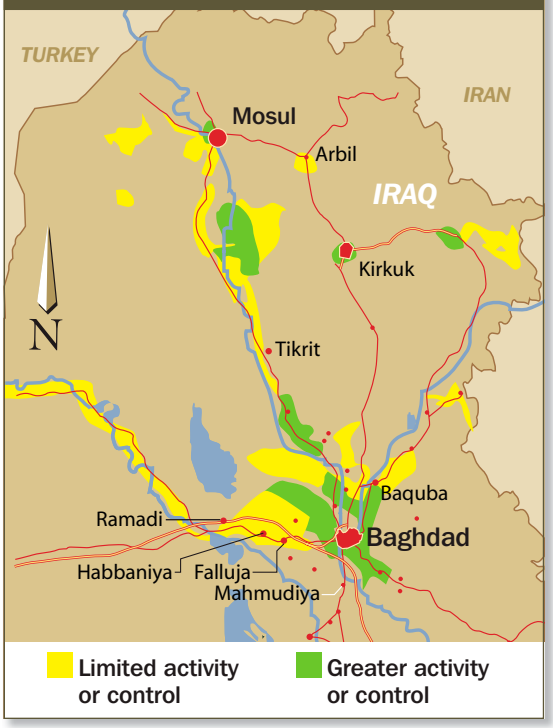
General Joseph Fil, the Baghdad division commander, explained in late June how the operations inside and outside Baghdad worked, and why the fighting briefly intensified.

> As we have gone through the city and concentrated in a lot of areas where [the enemy] had free rein sometime before, those areas are now denied to them. And so their freedom of maneuver inside of the city, their own battle space, has been more and more restricted, and their support zones have been severely restricted, both inside the city and also in the belts around the city. And so they're running out of maneuver space and they are starting to fight very hard.

By the end of June, U.S. and Iraqi forces had liberated western Baquba. By the end of July, they also controlled eastern Baquba, Dora, and Falluja—the major urban strongholds of AQI. By mid-August, they had also cleared other al Qaeda and Shia extremist strongholds south of Baghdad, including a terrorist safe haven in Musayyib, on the road from Karbala to Baghdad. The Phantom Thunder offensive killed over 1,100 enemy fighters and detained over 6,700, including 382 major figures. It drove most remaining al Qaeda into rural areas, far from population centers. The displacement of al Qaeda leaders and fighters made it possible to track many of them down with Special Forces. Phantom Thunder also fractured the belts, compartmentalizing some al Qaeda operations around the capital so that the surviving portions of the network could not readily support one another.

AREAS OF ACTIVITY OR CONTROL BY AL QAEDA IN IRAQ, AUGUST 2007



OPERATION PHANTOM STRIKE

In order to prevent al Qaeda and Shia extremist groups from reestablishing themselves in cities or rural support areas, Generals Petraeus and Odierno launched Phantom Strike, the second Iraq-wide offensive, in the middle of August. Operation Phantom Strike, which is still going on, has consisted of quick-strike raids aimed at destroying terrorist staging areas and preventing insurgents from establishing new sanctuaries.

For example, al Qaeda leaders from Baquba reconstituted in several areas in northern Iraq after U.S. forces cleared Diyala's capital. Some took refuge along the Hamrin Ridge, just north of the Diyala River valley, on a secondary road toward Kirkuk; some reconstituted in tribal areas just south of Baquba. Other al Qaeda elements remained in strongholds along the Tigris River valley, such as Tarmiya, Balad, and Samarra, or in safe havens south of Baghdad. The headquarters of the Islamic State of Iraq remained in Mosul. None of these al Qaeda groups fared well during Phantom Strike. As the offensive began, U.S. and Iraqi forces struck alternately at enemy groups in Diyala and in the provinces to the north, Nineweh, Salah-ad-Din, and Tamim.

Operations in Diyala aimed to keep Baquba secure by clearing and holding territory in its vicinity. U.S. and Iraqi forces cleared 50 villages in the Diyala River valley during the middle of August, many of which al Qaeda had occupied as recently as April. This large operation prevented al Qaeda from reinfiltrating into Diyala from the Hamrin Ridge. U.S. forces cleared the city of Muqdadiya, at the junction of the Diyala and Hamrin Lake, in a follow-on operation in mid-October. They established a new forward operating base near Muqdadiya, so that they could control the Diyala from Baquba to Hamrin Lake with Iraqi assistance.

Meanwhile, U.S. forces in August increased the tempo of attacks on al Qaeda in Balad and Samarra. These cities were important to al Qaeda's ability to project force into Anbar. Al Qaeda launched its failed June expedition to recapture Ramadi from this area, which likewise served as a base for the September 13 assassination of Sheikh Sattar Abu Risha. Thirty masked al Qaeda gunmen attempted to overrun a U.S. observation post in Samarra in late August, presumably to regain control over a safe haven or line of communication. They failed.

In Tarmiya, just south of Balad, along the Tigris, U.S. Special Forces killed and captured numerous high value targets during Phantom Thunder, culminating with

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Lieutenant General Ray Odierno, commander of Multi-National Corps–Iraq, greets a sheikh in Jurf as Sakhr on October 14. The sheikh has been working with troops from the 25th Infantry Division to eliminate the al Qaeda presence in the city.

the emir of the northern belts on August 7. As Phantom Strike began, Special Forces operating in Tarmiya killed or captured several major al Qaeda figures, including Ali Latif Ibrahim Hamad al-Falahi, aka Abu Ibrahim, responsible for overseeing terrorist operations in the northern belts and "coordinating VBIED [Vehicle-Borne IED] attacks in Baghdad," as a military press briefing put it; Abu Yaqub al-Masri, an inner circle al Qaeda leader with close ties to Abu Ayyub al-Masri; and Muayyad Ali Husayn Sulayman al-Bayyati, aka Abu Wathiq, who helped establish AQI in Tarmiya.

In early September, when the operations south of Lake Hamrin concluded, U.S. and Iraqi forces attacked al Qaeda safe havens at the northwestern end of the Hamrin Ridge, known as the Zaab triangle. Al Qaeda's leadership used the rural villages along the Zaab River to plan and synchronize attacks. Meanwhile, U.S. and Iraqi Special Forces, as well as Iraqi conventional forces, conducted raids against key locations and individuals in Kirkuk and Mosul, cities where al Qaeda typically operated.

As U.S. operations closed the gaps in the belt from Karma to Baquba and struck along al Qaeda's north-south routes, they drove members of the network into more constrained spaces, such as Tikrit, Saddam Hussein's hometown and a major source of Sunni insurgents since 2003. Special Forces targeted insurgents in Tikrit in August, making it more difficult for the groups to reconstitute there.

Phantom Thunder and Phantom Strike did not eradicate AQI. Rather, the intensive operations in Tarmiya, Balad, Samarra, and the Zaab triangle impeded it from coordinating attacks in northern and central Iraq. Phantom Thunder and Phantom Strike not only removed the network's established personnel, but also degraded the infrastructure that had permitted the organization to stage regular vehicle bomb attacks from Karma and Tarmiya in March and April 2007. These operations also severed the northern belt from the southern belt.

After the major clearing operation in Arab Jabour and Salman Pak, enemy fighters moved southward along the Tigris just beyond the reach of U.S. forces. The opening campaign of Phantom Strike, therefore, targeted insurgents and extremists trying to reconsti-

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tute further along the Tigris River valley. The terrain in Arab Jabour consists mainly of rural farmland (conducive to producing homemade explosives from fertilizer components) and dense palm groves along the Tigris (conducive to concealing weapons caches). The population is primarily Sunni, but the predominantly Shia areas of Babil and Wasit province limit al Qaeda's ability to move freely into safe havens much farther south. Most Sunni insurgents, therefore, moved from east to west, following the arc of roads and highways from the Tigris to Mahmudiya.

Because of the sparsely settled terrain and the force composition south of Baghdad, a series of air assaults comprised the main effort in the region for much of August. By contrast, the operations running concurrently in the Diyala River valley were conducted by a heavy brigade of division cavalry. The air assaults south of Baghdad eliminated enemy positions, such as safehouses and weapons caches, in the arc from Suwayra to Iskandariya.

The key city of Mahmudiya lies on the border of Sunni and Shia zones. It also sits astride the north-south line of communications that extremist militias used to push northward from Karbala to Baghdad; and on the east-west route along which al Qaeda operatives traveled from the Euphrates to the Tigris. U.S. forces consistently worked to eliminate insurgents from Mahmudiya during the major offensives, and they drove al Qaeda further south toward Karbala and Babil. Operations in Mahmudiya targeting facilitation of foreign terrorists south of Baghdad thus led coalition forces to a major figure within AQI, Abu Usama al-Tunisi, in the third week of September. This Tunisian-born terrorist oversaw the movement of foreign terrorists in Iraq. He was a close associate of and likely successor to Abu Ayyub al-Masri, the leader of AQI. Coalition forces killed him in an airstrike on September 25, near Musayyib, on the road from Mahmudiya to the Shia holy cities.

In mid-September, the main effort shifted closer to Baghdad. Hawr Rajab is farmland in Arab Jabour wedged between three important areas: the farmland closer to the Tigris that U.S. forces cleared in June; the Mahmudiya-Baghdad highway; and Baghdad's southernmost neighborhood, Abu Disheer, which is primarily Shia and sits on the underbelly of Dora. Like Arab Jabour generally, Hawr Rajab lacked American troops and Iraqi security forces prior to the summer of 2007, and was therefore an exporter of weapons to Baghdad. Before U.S. and Iraqi forces arrived, al Qaeda exerted extreme pressure on Abu Disheer from its strongholds in Dora and Hawr Rajab; Shia militias defended Abu Disheer and attacked from that location into Dora. U.S. forces fought to control Hawr Rajab in September and October in order to stabilize Arab Jabour and to tamp down the violence in Baghdad proper by weakening the regions that supplied weapons and fighters to al Qaeda in Dora.

IRAQI SECURITY FORCES AND CONCERNED LOCAL CITIZENS

U.S. forces thus moved from clearing operations in former enemy sanctuaries to the next stage, called maintenance operations, by which they controlled and retained cleared territory. Holding terrain is troop-intensive, and it requires offensive as well as defensive operations. In past years, U.S. forces relied almost exclusively on Iraqi security forces to preserve gains after clearing operations, because of lack of troops and because of the focus on a rapid transition to Iraqis. U.S. forces in 2007 likewise relied on their partner units in the Iraqi army and Iraqi police, and the greater number of Iraqi and American troops meant that more soldiers were available to hold terrain. The cooperation of Iraqi citizens, serving as interim and regular police, increased the ability of all forces to hold terrain.

The rejection of al Qaeda by the Ramadi sheikhs in late 2006 has been widely reported. General Petraeus transformed the tribal movement in Anbar into a national phenomenon supportive of government institutions. U.S. commanders fostered grassroots movements throughout Iraq, methodically negotiating security agreements with local officials, tribes, and former insurgent leaders. They thus achieved one of the major objectives of the counterinsurgency strategy by reconciling much of the Sunni population with the government.

Diyala Province, which has an extremely complex network of Sunni, Shia, and mixed tribes, illustrates the complementary relationship between improving security and movements of concerned citizens. As U.S. forces reconnoitered Baquba and its vicinity, some locals who had once fought the Americans as insurgents began cooperating with U.S. and Iraqi security forces against al Qaeda. These leaders helped U.S. forces clear enemy sanctuaries during the summer offensive by revealing enemy positions and weapons caches. For example, members of the 1920s Brigades—a Sunni insurgent group that operated alongside al Qaeda until May—in Baquba identified the specific locations of rigged houses and deep-buried IEDs before the city was cleared in June. Reconciliation efforts proceeded as soon as U.S. and Iraqi forces had cleared western Baquba, and rippled outward through the Diyala River valley as U.S. forces eliminated the enemy there. Tribal leaders in Diyala

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recruited locals to guard their communities alongside U.S. and Iraqi forces. Citizens did so with the aim not only of preventing the return of terrorists, but also of joining the Iraqi police and thus supporting the government of Iraq.

The summer offensive widened the scope of the population's movement against al Qaeda and other terrorists. Locals willing to cooperate with Americans and Iraqi security forces might jump-start clearing efforts, as in Hawr Rajab, but few locals turned against al Qaeda before military operations cleared terrorist sanctuaries. Rather, the "concerned local citizens" movements generally spread after U.S. and Iraqi forces, partnered together, cleared an area. For example, after removing al Qaeda leadership in Tarmiya, U.S. conventional forces conducted a series of large, coordinated operations there in mid-September, to remove an illegal court and clear gigantic caches of explosives. These operations set the stage for the concerned local citizens movement in Tarmiya, which had proceeded fitfully in June, July, and August because of al Qaeda's presence in the city. In mid-September, over 1,200 men volunteered within two days to serve as volunteers for a new provisional security group known as the Critical Infrastructure Security Contract Force to help defend Tarmiya, alongside U.S. and Iraqi security forces, and helped to hold Tarmiya against encroaching enemy forces. As of November 1, 2007, approximately 60,000 Iraqis had volunteered to protect their local communities as part of these fully screened and monitored forces.

STRIKING SECRET CELLS AND SHIA EXTREMISTS

As the imminent threat from al Qaeda receded, U.S. forces waged an aggressive campaign against Iranian-backed secret cells and extreme elements of Moktada al-Sadr's militia, the Jaysh al-Mahdi. Coalition and Iraqi Special Forces captured and interrogated secret cell leaders throughout Iraq in the months from March through June, prior to the start of Phantom Thunder. In late July, U.S. and Iraqi forces intensified their operations against secret cell leaders in Baghdad, killing or capturing cell leaders and militia members threatening western Baghdad neighborhoods such as Shula, Mansour, Hurriya, Bayaa, and Aamel. Detainees included financiers, weapons traffickers, death squad leaders, snipers, and members of a splinter Jaysh al-Mahdi group that conducted extra-judicial killings. At this time, coalition forces also arrested a major smuggler of Explosively Formed Pentrators (EFPs), a powerful, armor-piercing IED, east of Baghdad and secret cell leaders north of Baghdad in Diyala.

Moktada al-Sadr's movement is based in Najaf, where the Eighth Iraqi Army Division has responsibility for security. In early August, that division, supported by its U.S. advisory team, detained a suspect in Najaf for recruiting and paying Jaysh al-Mahdi militia members from charitable funds to emplace IEDs. The division then arrested the commander of a battalion of a rogue Jaysh al-Mahdi group, and continued the campaign against secret cell leaders nearer its headquarters in Diwaniya.

These campaigns against secret cells led rogue militia and Iranian-backed elements to retaliate. An assassination campaign in August successfully targeted officeholders affiliated with the Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council (which, along with the two other leading Shia parties, Dawa and the Sadrist Trend, comprised the political bloc that originally helped Prime Minister Nuri al Maliki to power). Another assassination campaign targeted Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani's aides in southern provinces. The disturbances became more widespread. On August 28, rogue militia elements or special groups disrupted the Shia pilgrimage in Karbala. These elements attempted to shoot their way past mosque guards, but failed. The Iraqi army secured Karbala and helped evacuate the thousands of pilgrims. Prime Minister Maliki traveled to Najaf on September 5 and met with the grand ayatollah. According to an official press release, Maliki and Sistani talked about "technocratic" government and about security in the holy cities.

The incident prompted Moktada al-Sadr to issue a statement once again requesting that militia members loyal to him lay down their arms. U.S. and Iraqi forces continued to target rogue elements of the militia that did not respond to Sadr's request throughout September and October.

EFFECTS OF THESE OPERATIONS

Clearing al Qaeda out of its strongholds in Dora, Ameriya, and Adhamiya reduced violence in Baghdad. Former insurgents in Ameriya introduced the anti-al Qaeda, concerned citizens movement to Baghdad in May. In early August, residents of Adhamiya stormed the Abu Hanifa mosque, an al Qaeda stronghold. Residents, tribal sheikhs, government officials, and U.S. commanders developed a new Critical Infrastructure Guard Force to protect important facilities in Adhamiya. The summer offensives in Hawr Rajab reduced the supply of fighters and materiel to Dora, making it more difficult for the enemy to reinfiltrate that neighborhood. In addition, the Phantom Strike offensive aggressively targeted the Karkh-Rusafa car bombing network, which al Qaeda

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had supplied from the belts, reducing the number and lethality of vehicle bombs in Baghdad.

In northwestern Baghdad, "murders are down from a peak of over 161 reported murders per week a year ago to less than 5 per week now, and our continued efforts to defeat sectarian expansion continue to drive these numbers down," reported Colonel J.B. Burton, the sector's commander, in mid-October. "IED and small arms attacks are down from a peak of 50 per week in June to less than 5 per week since the end of August. And Vehicle-Borne IED attacks are down nearly 85 percent thanks to our combined efforts to defeat the Karkh VBIED and IED networks—which has had a tremendous impact on insurgents' ability to instruct and employ those types of weapons effectively." The campaign against rogue militias has improved security.

The elimination of important secret cell leaders in western Baghdad has reduced EFP attacks in northwestern Baghdad dramatically. According to Colonel Burton: "Very rarely do we find an effective EFP within our . . . former . . . EFP hot spots, given the increased participation of local nationals in helping us to find these weapons, the increased responsiveness of the Iraqi security forces to defeat these cells and the increased effectiveness of our targeting operations to defeat the entire network." The operations against secret cells in the northern belt recently exposed several large caches of EFPs in Diyala Province, probably intended for Baghdad.

Generals Petraeus and Odierno have conducted a sophisticated counterinsurgency campaign aimed at securing the population of Iraq, and at the development of political, economic, and communications infrastructure to support the overarching political objectives. In addition, they coordinated simultaneous and successive military operations throughout Iraq, rather than concentrating on one region. Their campaign is the largest and longest sustained offensive that America has undertaken in Iraq so far. The operations have severely disrupted al Qaeda's ability to project power into Baghdad by denying the group sanctuaries, fragmenting the belts, destroying support networks, and eliminating key personnel. Operations against Shia militias and Iranian extremists have reduced their ability to take advantage of al Qaeda's demise in order to advance their sectarian agenda. This theater-wide effort has been aimed at securing the population using all military instruments available to the coalition; it did not prefer special forces to conventional forces, but rather used them synergistically.

Generals Petraeus and Odierno pursued a vision of local-level reconciliation aimed at supporting the overarching political goals. They recognized that national politics and legislative agendas would not determine whether violence fell. The security facilitated by the military operations accelerated the spread of local efforts to turn against al Qaeda. U.S. commanders catalyzed those efforts in former insurgent safe havens once they were cleared. Commanders are therefore trying to connect these local movements to the provincial and national government.

U.S. and Iraqi troops have fought side by side in these campaigns. The Iraqi army and Iraqi police are more capably conducting long operations. Some units still need Americans at their side, and others need them at their back as they assume new responsibilities.

U.S. and Iraqi troops have fought side by side in these campaigns. The Iraqi army and Iraqi police are more capably conducting long operations. Some units still need Americans at their side, and others need them at their back as they assume new responsibilities. American troops also play a critical role in persuading the government of Iraq to accept the new military and political realities, including a Sunni community that is willing to support the government in order to participate in political decisions.

Enemy groups will attempt to regenerate. American troops play an important role in preventing the enemy from reestablishing sanctuaries. Holding territory, particularly in urban areas, requires continuous military operations based on sophisticated intelligence. The development of an economic and political capacity helps maintain our gains.

The theater-wide offensives were meant to buy time for the government of Iraq to develop the institutions of governance. The fragmentation of Al Qaeda in Iraq, extremist militias, and secret cells has only just happened. The opportunity to negotiate a political settlement now belongs to the government of Iraq. It is too soon to know what the Iraqis will do. But clearly, this skillful military operation has created new realities on the ground. With violence falling sharply, Iraqis are no longer mobilizing for full-scale civil war, as they were at the end of 2006. Whether the political developments that were always the ultimate objective of the surge can be brought to fruition remains to be seen. ♦

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Our Pakistan Challenge

Something good can come out of the emergency

By Daniel Twining

Pakistan is the swing state in the worldwide struggle against Islamic terrorists. Its decisive position makes Pervez Musharraf's imposition of martial law on November 3 a hard test for American foreign policy.

Musharraf moved to preempt a constitutional ruling that would have challenged his dual role as army chief and Pakistan's president. In suspending the constitution and declaring emergency rule, he usurped the powers of the judiciary, parliament, and the press and moved swiftly to round up thousands of political opponents. "Everything that is happening today is illegal," declared deposed supreme court chief justice Iftikhar Chaudhry as he was placed under house arrest. Former prime minister Benazir Bhutto called it Pakistan's "darkest day."

Lawyers and students protest in Islamabad on November 7.

Musharraf's actions, though, clarify America's options. While Pakistan may be a vital ally and a nuclear power, it is also the incubator of a resurgent Taliban and the base of al Qaeda's senior leadership. Musharraf's determination to stay in power—his evisceration of the democratic opposition and flirtation with radical Islamists—has produced a growing hostility to the United States in Pakistan, an alienated middle class, a powerful Islamist movement, and a demoralized and discredited army uncertain of where its true interests lie. Above all, Musharraf's failures in the war on terror suggest that only a democratic government, working in partnership with Pakistan's armed forces, can muster the popular support to fight extremism, support our Afghan allies in the battle against the Taliban, and restore Pakistan's integrity as a stable and progressive Islamic state. America's goal must be to help civilian and military leaders there reach a new political compact that makes this possible.

Under Musharraf's leadership, the Pakistani military has fought our terrorist adversaries, and agents of al Qaeda have repeatedly tried to assassinate him. But his claim to be an effective ally in the war on terrorism was gravely undermined by his "peace accord" with Islamic extremist groups along the frontier with Afghanistan in 2006. The accord created a sanctuary on Pakistani soil for both Taliban and al Qaeda militants fighting NATO troops in Afghanistan, and U.S. intelligence assessments show that it has strengthened the Taliban's operational capabilities. After his coup, Musharraf released 28 members of the Taliban in a prisoner exchange and reinstated another sanctuary agreement with Islamist tribal leaders in South Waziristan allied with the Taliban and al Qaeda.

Such decisions call into question the extent of Musharraf's true commitment to combating Islamic terrorism. They suggest a deliberate strategy of balancing concessions to different constituencies to enable him to stay in power—

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apparently a higher priority than defeating the terrorists. The general has done just enough to satisfy his American patrons that he is in the fight against the jihadists, but never quite enough to alienate his Islamist constituency—including the members of his intelligence service who support the Taliban. (Afghan president Hamid Karzai has accused Musharraf of playing this double game for years.) With India, Musharraf has taken steps to resolve the Kashmir conflict and to curb terrorist attacks across the line of control that divides the contested region. But he has never disrupted the Kashmiri militants' training camps or their supply lines within Pakistan, and they continue to conduct operations against India by way of Bangladesh and Nepal.

Musharraf's tactics within his own country are a mirror of the balancing act he performs abroad—promising, on the one hand, an "enlightened moderation" that appeals to Pakistan's liberal elites, while, on the other, cultivating Islamist politicians and wielding autocratic powers against political opponents. Today, faced with American pressure, he walks a fine line to preserve his position as president, promising to stand down as army chief, but only after being sworn in as president, and only then allowing new elections—a scheme the supreme court majority he sacked believed to be unconstitutional. He has replaced these justices with loyalists willing to endorse his plans.

A lawyer shouts slogans against emergency rule from a police van in Lahore.

Musharraf says he was forced to declare martial law by the threat of an Islamist takeover. But he has used his emergency powers only to eviscerate the democratic political opposition. Those targeted for immediate arrest following the suspension of constitutional rule were not the extremists whose madrassas have flourished under military rule or the tribal leaders in cahoots with the Taliban on the frontier. Instead, the police rounded up democratic activists, opposition politicians, human rights advocates, lawyers, and judges. "It would be hard to imagine a group less threatening to the security of Pakistan," said U.S. ambassador Anne Patterson.

Rather than being a bulwark against extremism, Musharraf's rule has fueled the "Talibanization" of Pakistani society. The country's largest Islamist coalition, the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal, expanded its political base in the 2002 elections and, until recently, ruled two of the country's four provinces. It has benefited from the intelligence service's support and electoral manipulation to garner twice the vote it did under civilian rule and become a force in national politics. And, as he has allied himself with Islamist political forces, Musharraf has waged political warfare against their democratic counterparts, forcing civilian leaders like Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif into exile and employing the resources of the state to break their parties. By preventing the moderate opposition from freely taking part in elections, Musharraf created a vacuum that could only be filled by extremists.

It is true that Osama bin Laden is more popular in Pakistan than Musharraf—but Bhutto and Sharif are each significantly more popular than either, and analysts believe their parties would prevail in free elections. Indeed, the massive crowds that greeted Bhutto's return to Pakistan from exile demonstrated her strength. She threatens the religious extremists—who she argues have grown stronger thanks to the connivance of the military regime—as demonstrated by their attempt to assassinate her last month.

American support has given Pakistan's military regime legitimacy. Pakistani officials boast that Musharraf holds power with the support of "the Army, Allah, and America." Since 2001, the United States has provided more than $10 billion in assistance, nearly all in military funding and hardware. This has produced real gains in the war on terror, but has also empowered the armed forces at the expense of civil society and given Musharraf the belief, implicit in his declaration of martial law in defiance of U.S. opposition, that America needs Pakistan more than Pakistan needs America. The United States is now faced with an autocratic regime that holds Washington hostage to its misguided political choices, and a large, liberal middle class that believes America has taken the wrong side in Pakistani politics.

Pakistan is not a failing state held together by military rule. It is a state in crisis because its military regime is illegitimate. Pakistanis do not want the army to further arbitrate the country's political life; they want its subversion of civilian institutions to end and a

PHOTOS: REUTERS

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democratic alternative to emerge. At the same time, the officer corps has an abiding interest in getting out of politics to salvage its reputation, now under assault thanks to Musharraf's heavy-handedness, as the nation's most respected institution, one that can be an effective partner to America in the war on terror.

Pakistan needs a compact between civilian and military leaders of the kind Chilean democrats secured a generation ago. Negotiations enabled a peaceful transition to civilian rule in Chile after decades of dictatorship. Democrats succeeded because military rule had been discredited by brutality against civilians and the suppression of dissent, and the officer corps had come to believe that a return to the barracks was the best way to restore its professional integrity. Chile's middle class had expanded thanks to strong economic growth under the military regime, and they were seeking a greater voice in politics. And the country had a history of democracy that could be invoked to help mobilize the opposition and strengthen the hand of civilian leaders in the negotiations. Finally, Chile's democratic leaders showed a willingness to allow the military to retain a strong policy role under civilian leadership, and the international community gave them moral and material support in their struggle. All these conditions are present in Pakistan today.

American support for military rule in Pakistan is alienating our natural allies in the country—the lawyers who brave police truncheons on behalf of constitutional rule, the reporters who refuse to be censored by men in uniform, and the professionals and workers who just want to live in a society under law, where economic prosperity holds out a better future than the otherworldly promises of religious fanatics.

Washington has been promoting a power-sharing arrangement between President Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto, whose popularity likely would allow her to become prime minister following national elections. The United States must be careful not to manipulate Pakistan's internal politics in ways that further discredit us in the eyes of the public. But the U.S. aim is a liberal one: Incorporating Pakistan's most popular political party into the military regime following free and fair elections would expand the political space for democratic forces to operate and create a new balance of power between civilian and military leaders. It could lay the foundation for a negotiated settlement that diminishes the military's role in politics.

The Pakistani army also needs such a deal to salvage its prestige after the latest crisis. "Pervez Musharraf has done what none of Islamabad's worst adversaries, including India, could imagine, let alone promote: robbing the army of its political legitimacy," notes the *Indian Express*. To win the long war on terrorism, we need the Pakistani military to be a partner respected for its professionalism, not reviled for its usurpation of political power.

Strong public expressions of American support, rather than mixed messages from our civilian and military leaders, would strengthen the hand of Pakistani democrats in the face of unchecked military power. If we publicly support civilian leaders, they will be able to play the "America card" in negotiations with the generals. It will also signal Pakistan's moderate majority that we stand with them. With our strong encouragement, America's many friends in the Pakistani officer corps might also press Musharraf for a democratic outcome that preserves our military partnership. America could also mediate military aid through democratic channels following new elections, giving Pakistan's civilian leaders oversight of U.S. assistance programs and making the officer corps stakeholders in the success of civilian government.

Pakistan's army is an important ally in the war on terror. But America needs a policy towards Pakistan, not just its army. We cannot win this war without the support of the country's moderate majority. "If you want to take the country away from Talibanization, these are the people who can do it, the secular middle class," as one Pakistani lawyer told the *New York Times*. American support for military rule in Pakistan is alienating our natural allies in the country—the lawyers who brave police truncheons on behalf of constitutional rule, the reporters who refuse to be censored by men in uniform, and the professionals and workers who just want to live in a society under law, where economic prosperity holds out a better future than the otherworldly promises of religious fanatics. In Pakistan, our true interest lies in working with civilian and military leaders for a democratic outcome to the current crisis that gives the moderate majority a stake and a voice in our common struggle against the terrorists. ♦

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Jack Donahue, Marilyn Miller, George Gershwin, Sigmund Romberg, Florenz Ziegfeld, 1927

BETTMANN / CORBIS

Fascinating Rhythm

Tin Pan Alley and the Great American Songbook BY EDWARD SHORT

The novelist and critic Wilfrid Sheed calls his new book "a labor of love, not a work of scholarship, which means that I have been researching it for most of my life."

A lifetime's research into the work of Jerome Kern, Irving Berlin, George Gershwin, Duke Ellington, Cole Porter, and Richard Rodgers, as well as Harold Arlen, Hoagy Carmichael, Jimmy Van Heusen, Johnny Mercer, Frank Loesser, and many others, has provided him with unusually rich materials. That he has gathered them together into a book that reads like inspired conversation will surprise none of his admirers and win him many new readers. Full of astute judgments about the music itself, and the tunesmiths who knocked it into shape,

The House That George Built
With a Little Help From Irving, Cole, and a Crew of About Fifty
by Wilfrid Sheed
Random House, 335 pp., $29.95

The House That George Built is a delightful companion to an inexhaustibly fascinating subject.

Where did this wonderful music come from? It came from Stephen Foster and Scott Joplin, from Tin Pan Alley and Dixieland, from Basin Street and the Great White Way, from the European waltz and the 12-bar blues, from the Jazz Age and the Crack-Up, from two World Wars and a Depression, from the American dream and an American patriotism that saw America, not any Old Country, as "home sweet home." But mostly it came from the fascination that the Jews of New York's Lower East Side had for the jazz of Harlem. Understanding that fascination is crucial to understanding the great popular music that flourished in America from the 1920s to the '50s, and Sheed misses nothing of its momentous import.

"Music is not produced by whole groups, but by one genius at a time," he writes, "and it may be significant that the two families that gave us Irving

Edward Short is the author of a forthcoming book about John Henry Newman and his contemporaries.

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Berlin and George Gershwin both fled Russia on the same great wave of czarist pogroms, only to find in America black people not only singing about a similar experience, but using the Hebrew Bible as their text."

Less a formal history than a series of witty profiles, this volume is particularly good at showing the crucial role that the Cotton Club played in helping America find her native wood-notes wild. Of Harold Arlen, for example, the man who wrote "Stormy Weather," "Over the Rainbow," "Last Night When We Were Young," and "Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea," Sheed stresses that "the rough-and-ready give-and-take of the bandstand had been his finishing school, and the Cotton Club was the name on his diploma, not the Juilliard or the Sorbonne."

Arlen's father was an Orthodox cantor who tried hard to separate his son from the secular music that he brought back from Harlem, but Arlen would not renounce his newfound love. "Nature," Sheed writes, "had never intended him to be a rebel; it was a triumph of vocation. When I met Harold Arlen in person years later, I could only wonder, as many people must have, how such a mild, unimposing little man could have produced such powerful and turbulent music." Once MGM beckoned, Arlen obliged with the score for *The Wizard of Oz* (1939). He found Hollywood almost too good to be true: "They brought us money on bicycles," he recalled, prompting Sheed to remark that "the image of a kid tossing a check onto your porch as casually as an evening newspaper must have packed a positively Norman Rockwell enchantment to eyes used to Depression New York."

Irving Berlin got his start on the Bowery in a Chinese saloon called Nigger Mike's, where he worked as a singing waiter. His piano playing would always remain rudimentary: "If the best in the business is that bad," Hoagy Carmichael observed, "there's hope for us all." Yet the jazz song found its classic expression in Berlin: The score he wrote for *Top Hat* (1935) would become the standard for all standards.

"At least a part of Irving Berlin was an intuitive jazzman," Sheed points out, "who had once heard the sounds of Harlem as clearly as those of Hester Street and had, so to speak, finally hatched out the embryonic sounds of his early rags into the swinging majesty of 'Cheek to Cheek.' 'Heaven,' as he puts it perfectly, 'I'm in heaven.'"

Sheed is good at showing what a defining influence Berlin had on Cole Porter. The well-heeled Porter envied Berlin his apprenticeship on the Lower East Side—"the Vienna of American song," as Sheed calls it—and when he returned to New York in the mid-1930s after living it up in Paris and Venice, he was determined to give his cosmopolitanism a rest and write, as he put it, "little Jewish songs."

If Berlin, Kern, and Gershwin worked hard to emulate the jazz of blacks, Porter worked even harder to emulate the vernacular verve of his Jewish colleagues. As a result, Porter's songs took on a new depth—or perhaps one should say a liberating vulgarity. For "Just One of Those Things" he lifted the line—"A trip to the moon on gossamer wings"—from an ad for mattresses. The sophisticate was putting away his smoking jacket and tuning in to the radio, though the WASP element in Porter always gave the wannabe Jewish element an undertone of ironic wit. Berlin repaid Porter's admiration with a touching note after seeing *Can-Can* (1953): "It's a swell show and I still say, to paraphrase an old bar-room ballad, 'Anything I can do, you can do better.'" For Porter, the Berlin ballad would always be the top.

Longing was Hoagy Carmichael's great theme. "Star Dust," "Skylark," "Georgia on My Mind," and "Lazy River" all exude a hunger for the unattainable. His songs also teem with an itinerant restlessness. Carmichael, like Porter, might have been born in Indiana, but his music abounds with evocations of other places, from Harlem and Baltimore to Memphis and Hong Kong. Carmichael's nostalgia for places that were not his home was characteristic. After leaving Indiana, he moved to Palm Beach, then to New York, then Los Angeles, and finally Palm Springs. (That this dapper vagabond was a lifelong Republican did not endear him to Hollywood's liberals; it was only their wives who prevented him and Humphrey Bogart from coming to blows.) "Rockin' Chair," which became a staple of Louis Armstrong's, describes a kind of vagabond's nightmare, where there will be no more wandering, only flies, the front porch, and Judgment Day. Sheed sums up this versatile composer nicely: "Hoagy Carmichael was, like many Americans, a divided soul, part nomad and part homebody, who seemed a little bit at home everywhere, but was probably more so someplace else, if he could just find it."

Sheed has a soft spot for the first of Richard Rodgers's collaborators. His take on Lorenz Hart's fondness for the jug is worth quoting, though it would probably cause certain expulsion from any AA meeting:

> The one thing that dwarfs really can't do is drink as much as the Jolly Green Giant, and Hart's attempts to do so would lead to most of the grief that followed. In the cramped world of psychohistory, nobody has ever gotten drunk just for fun, but only to escape from some problem he or she can't face. So the possibility that Hart might have had an inspired and highly productive capacity for enjoying himself is simply squeezed into a box marked "manic-depressive," from which nothing good or beautiful has ever emerged.

"My Funny Valentine," "Bewitched, Bothered and Bewildered," "Love Never Went to College," and "I Didn't Know What Time It Was," to name a few of Hart's gems, prove that Sheed has a point. Hart's demons could never stop him from writing like an angel, and he was not alone in his drink problem. His collaborator Rodgers could not handle the stuff, nor could Johnny Mercer, whom Sheed calls the "meanest, cruelest of drunks this side of James Thurber." Porter never became a drunk, but that was only because he knew how to abstain now and again. ("For when you lay off the liquor / You feel so much slicker.")

Sheed gives pride of place here to George Gershwin, whom he regards as the *capomaestro* of the golden age of American popular music. "You can subtract any other great name from the story," he declares, "and it would be basically the same story. Without Gershwin,

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or his godfather, Irving Berlin, it would be unrecognizably different." Moreover, many of the songwriters "looked up to [Gershwin], as the closest thing to a role model that this happy-go-lucky profession would allow itself."

Duke Ellington was an exception. He may have admired Gershwin's music, but he hardly looked up to him. The model for the Duke's ways was closer to home: As Sheed points out, Ellington's father James "had been at various times a butler and a chauffeur to the Washington, D.C., elite, both positions that could teach one an awful lot about irony and the way the world works, and perhaps James imparted some of this outlook to his son." It was certainly the case that Ellington "didn't 'beat down doors,' he walked through them." Sheed also notes that what Ellington took exception to about *Porgy and Bess* (1935) was not that it appropriated black experience—the man who wrote *Such Sweet Thunder* (1957) had no problem with anyone appropriating things—but that it didn't make sufficient allowance for the Christianity of its characters. Ellington disliked Gershwin making light of the Bible in "It Ain't Necessarily So."

Gershwin, for his part, always let it be known that he envied the bridge of Ellington's "Sophisticated Lady." He was never slow to acknowledge the brilliance of others, citing Kern and Berlin, in particular, as principal influences. He also gave such younger talents as Arlen and Vernon Duke a leg up. Duke, born Vladimir Dukelsky, was a White Russian Cossack, a child prodigy with an aristocrat's belief in his own superiority. Gershwin put up with his airs for the sake of his talent, and inspired him to write some of the loveliest standards in the canon, including "Autumn in New York," "April in Paris," "Taking a Chance on Love," and my father's all-time favorite, "I Can't Get Started." Whenever I had dinner with my father at P.J. Clarke's in New York, we always played Bunny Berigan's classic version on the jukebox. Sheed points out that Duke could not find a lyric for the song and went to Gershwin for help, whereupon George put his brother Ira on the case, who delivered the immortal goods ("I've been consulted by Franklin D / Greta Garbo has had me to tea").

Of Gershwin's generosity to beginners and rivals alike, Sheed says: "It was as if George wanted all those great songs to be written by *somebody*, preferably by himself, of course, but not exclusively."

The number of truly great songs that Gershwin wrote is impressive, considering his early death at 39. "A Foggy Day," "They Can't Take That Away from Me," "Embraceable You," and "Things Are Looking Up" are just a few of many. He might have done Vernon Duke a favor when he told him to "try to write some real popular tunes—and don't be scared about going low-brow. They will open you up." (Kern was another starchy composer who gained from "going low-brow.") But what set Gershwin apart was that he was never afraid of going high-brow. *Rhapsody in Blue* and *An American in Paris* show how right he was to recognize that his unique understanding of popular music opened up a special place for him in classical music. Ralph Vaughan Williams paid him a compliment that Gershwin himself would have relished.

> We must not make the mistake of thinking lightly of the very characteristic art of Gershwin or, to go further back, the beautiful melodies of Stephen Foster. Great things grow out of small beginnings. The American composers who wrote symphonic poems for which they were not emotionally ready are forgotten, while the work of those who attempted less and achieved more has become the foundation on which a great art can rise.

Gershwin did not live to build that great art himself, but what an art it would have been if he had. Still, we can be grateful for the riches that he and other songwriters—famous and not-so-famous—left behind. *The House That George Built* should inspire younger readers to give those riches a listen, and remind the rest of us who prize the great American songbook that our love is here to stay. ♦

Skin of Our Teeth

The War for Independence was no cakewalk, either.

BY EDWARD ACHORN

Three years into what we call the War of Independence, a British journalist observed that any "other General in the world than General Howe would have beaten General Washington, and any other General in the world than General Washington would have beaten General Howe." There's a good deal of wisdom in that amusing observation, as John Ferling amply demonstrates in his lengthy and rather somber new portrait of the war. George Washington's incredible doggedness and poor tactics (at least initially) formed a perfect fit with William Howe's preternatural sluggishness to create a bloody stalemate that dragged on for eight years.

Almost a Miracle
The American Victory in the War of Independence
by John Ferling
Oxford, 704 pp., $29.95

It has long been noted that this war, above all others, seems obscured by a haze of glory, its heroes standing too tall to be real. Such works as David McCullough's brilliantly readable *1776* almost make one want to stand up and cheer for the boldness, savvy, and bravery of the men and women who secured our freedom through their sacrifices, including the supreme one. But there was, of course, another side, common to all wars: the fear, the cold, the

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General Howe evacuates Boston, 1776

dirt, the diarrhea, the death from disease, the bad and insufficient food, the boredom, the dark humor over officers' stupidity and incompetence, the reciprocal contempt felt by officers (including the American general Richard Montgomery, who came to the conclusion that the army he was leading consisted of "a set of pusillanimous wretches"), the rapes, and other atrocities against civilians.

This war was no glorious romp. Nor was it one that enjoyed widespread public support, particularly after it dragged the economy into the mire and saddled citizens with enormous debt and brutal taxes. It produced a greater percentage of casualties to population than any conflict in the nation's history except the Civil War.

In Ferling's telling, the Revolution is not a war primarily of stirring heroics and national resolve but of almost mind-boggling screw-ups by both sides—in generalship, political leadership, and everything in-between, from tactics to military intelligence to logistics. As such, it offers a sober lesson for the political leaders of our times who might share the culture's growing faith in the supreme virtue of instant gratification. In the real world, unfortunately, many struggles of consequence cannot be fought and won that way, and this particular war—one of the most consequential in history—was a long, hard, grim slog which, right until the end, possibly even after the surrender of General Cornwallis at Yorktown, could have gone either way.

Ultimately, the thing that settled it in America's favor against the awesome might of the British Empire (hence, the book's title) was George Washington's superhuman stubbornness, and his ability to keep an army (and thus, a new nation) together in the face of defeat, deprivation, and despair. Moreover, luck played a considerable role—an unpleasant thought to those of us who would like to believe heroic man controls his fate.

In 575 pages of text, densely packed with detail from letters and other contemporary accounts, Ferling thoroughly explores the confusion and personal failings that so often shape war, starting with the stupendous slowness and caution of General Howe, which often cost his side dearly. But Ferling also provides ample coverage of the ways in which Washington, whom Howe was "seemingly always capable of outmaneuvering," repeatedly stumbled into near-catastrophe.

Writing of the battle for New York City in 1776, Ferling notes: "Perhaps most soldiers betray uncertainty on the eve of battle; by late August, Washington was way beyond that. He was baffled." Trapped on Manhattan, Washington remained in the snare of Howe for more than a month, "during every minute of which his army faced almost certain destruction should Howe suddenly act purposefully." (Howe, true to form, let him escape.)

Ferling cites Washington's "short-sighted outlook" during this period, arguing that it "stemmed from his inexperience, combative nature, and the inner demons that gnawed at him following the army's embarrassing showdown, driving him to seek redemption through a decisive showdown with the hated enemy." This Washington, furthermore, is thin-skinned, paranoid, and prepared to strike with the speed and deadly efficiency of a viper to bring down any political foes who dare to question him.

Such a human Washington is a compelling figure, but it is clear even in this warts-and-all account that he was also indispensable to the existence of the new republic. Washington's greatness shines through the muck of chaos, as he comes to adopt a Fabian strategy to keep his army intact by avoiding all-out battle, while exploiting opportunities for sneak attacks, such as at Trenton and Princeton, thus preserving his countrymen's spirits and enticing France to support American independence.

Among the strengths of *Almost a Miracle* is its extensive attention to the often neglected southern theater of war. Ferling is also first-rate at placing the war in the context of political developments, breaking apart each year with chapters entitled "Choices."

If I do have a gripe, it is that Ferling's prose lacks some of the narrative drive and compelling storytelling of the best history. At times, the war feels as hard a slog to the reader as it was to the soldiers. There are also some peculiarly purple passages: "the dark stain of night gathered over Long Island"; "the rain-black night" and, a few lines later, "the rain-slick night"; "the last lonely streaks of daylight"; "the verdant countryside bursting toward spring's zenith." More strenuous editing might have been helpful, too: At one point, the Americans are "literally one step ahead of their pursuers," which seems most unlikely.

But these are essentially quibbles. In laying out the dimensions and nature of the war, Ferling's account is rich, detailed, and sound. And *Almost a Miracle* comes at a fortunate time, when many Americans have adopted the view that protecting their freedoms is a relatively easy and painless task, one governed by logic and an efficient use of resources. Should voters and policymakers delve into Ferling's account of our War of Independence, they will get quite a different idea of what it took—and takes—to win and preserve all that we hold dear. ♦

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Out of the Past

'A complex time scheme' by Lifetime Channel standards. **BY STEFAN BECK**

The Vanishing Act of Esme Lennox
by Maggie O'Farrell
Harcourt, 256 pp., $23

The Vanishing Act of Esme Lennox, Maggie O'Farrell's fourth novel, has received rave reviews in *Marie Claire*, *Elle*, and *Good Housekeeping*, but it would rather stick its head in the oven than be shelved with the confectioner's sugar that is "chick lit." Its website offers a reading guide with stimulating questions: "This is a novel with a very complex time scheme. What techniques does the author use to handle this?" There is also "suggested further reading," including *Jane Eyre*, *The Bell Jar*, and something probably very heavy called *Hallucinating Foucault.*

Esme Lennox does, however, have some good qualities in common with "chick lit." Like a tube of cookie dough after a painful breakup, it's "horrifyingly hard to put down" (*She Magazine)*; it's as "gripping" (*Time Out*) as the garbage disposal that accidentally snatched your Cartier engagement ring. It proves beyond a doubt that literary fiction can be as entertaining and fast-paced as genre fiction. O'Farrell's novel may have a "complex time scheme," but it's never distracting, and the escalation of suspense is masterly and satisfying. It's the book's great weakness, in fact, that it belongs to the purlieu of the "literary." It's too thought-provoking for its own good.

What it provokes thoughts about is the mistreatment that free-spirited women were wont to endure in sepia-toned days of yore. Iris Lockhart's great-aunt, the titular Esme Lennox, has been released into her care by Cauldstone Hospital, an institution out of Dorothea Dix's ugliest nightmares, after over 60 years of confinement. The asylum is closing down, meaning Esme has triumphantly outlasted her captor. Not only that, she's perfectly *compos mentis*. This comes as a bit of a surprise to Iris, who'd never even been told that her great-aunt existed. And so, being something of a free-spirited woman herself, Iris sets out to unravel a tangled web of familial deceit and intrigue.

That web, true to the book's October release date, turns out to be the kind you get at Party City to decorate your shrubs: a tragic sibling rivalry, a dead baby, a rape, a *stolen* baby. As these horrors pile up, the reader begins to feel that no matter how fine the prose—"Above her, mimosa trees are shaking their heads at her, powdering the lawn with yellow dust"—the plot belongs more to a Lifetime Channel frightmare than to the Brontë sisters. And that gets to the heart of the problem with *Esme Lennox*, which is that, like a Lifetime movie, it can't be thrilling without also being hopelessly didactic.

Maggie O'Farrell

ULF ANDERSEN

Take Iris, our younger heroine. We learn within several pages that she's a slightly eccentric art school type because she operates her own vintage clothing store. We see her surrounded by colorful oddities: "a pair of Chinese slippers embroidered with orange fish, a suede purse with a gold clasp, a belt of crackling alligator skin, an Abyssinian scarf woven in silver, a corsage of wax flowers, a ring with a beetle set in resin." Later, of a character we're meant to dislike, we're told: "She doesn't like second-hand clothes. She told Iris this once. What if someone died in them, she said. So what if they did, Iris replied."

That character is a romantic rival of Iris's, though not the wife of the married man with whom Iris is carrying on an affair. The real purpose of the aside—to remind us that Iris is the free-spirited one and thus entitled to anything she wants—is especially plain, given that there are probably fewer than a dozen women on earth who categorically hate vintage clothing. It's a classic romantic comedy misstep to pair the object of desire with someone so devoid of merit that the object of desire becomes undesirable by association. In this case, though, there is something altogether humorless, even bitter, in the author's attempt to make our minds up for us.

The object of Iris's more or less requited desire—and this is one spoiler that it can do no harm to give out—is her stepbrother Alex. As taboos go, this one is relatively mild, but it nevertheless recalls Angelina Jolie, the most prominent real-life avatar of the "unconventional" woman, and her attention-grabbing kisses with her brother at awards ceremonies. The function of the "brother" here is more or less the same, though what with the tedium of all that rape and kidnapping, could it have hurt to liven things up with some *actual* incest?

Presumably, Iris is the way she is

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because it's in her vintage genes: Her great-aunt Esme is so singular, so magnificently willful and spirited, that not even a half-century in the loony bin can cure her of her incorrigibility. "I'm not going to get married," she informs a persistent suitor. "To anyone." Compare: "Iris doesn't usually permit men to remain in her bed overnight." This is familiar territory, a fearless condemnation of Victorian sexual repression ages after every stitch of relevance has been jerked out of it.

Esme asks Iris if she has many lovers, then wonders if the question is "impolite." This is the moment at which the book's contempt for reality can no longer be ignored or denied. Bad enough that Esme's psychological strength is shown by having her emerge unscathed after a lifetime in a mental hospital. (After all, when a character demonstrates his physical strength by stopping the Wabash Cannonball with his forehead, you're meant to infer that he's from Krypton.) At the same time, she's so dreamy or dim-witted that decades of solitary reflection haven't sketched out a connection between sexual mishap—whether refusing to marry or getting raped or having lots of lovers—and social opprobrium. This is supposed to be realism?

Esme Lennox is about the tragic fact that, once upon a time, unruly women could be locked up for damn near anything, and often were. I don't mean to belittle this matter of historical record to say that the book itself is a cartoon, full of cartoon characters and without a human being in sight. It could have gone way over the top and been a creepy, effective, and beautifully written gothic thriller, but it tries too hard to *mean* something.

For the record, that "very complex time scheme" consists merely of switching between the past and the present; that is, Esme's thoughts and Iris's, and it feels an awful lot like time-traveling just to poach on the turbulent emotional life of the past. It would be nice to think that it's something more complex than that, but honest readers will probably have their doubts. ♦

With This Bling . . .

The wedding business and the business of weddings.

BY RACHEL DICARLO

A friend of mine told me recently, about three months after getting engaged, that she had her whole wedding—almost five months away—completely planned. She had the venue, food, invitations, and her dress and shoes. What else do I need, she cheerfully asked? I repeated this exchange to a few married women, who were nonplussed. Can you really plan a wedding that quickly? And how can you do it without a planner?

One Perfect Day
The Selling of the American Wedding
by Rebecca Mead
Penguin, 245 pp., $25.95

Somebody is Going to Die if Lilly Beth Doesn't Catch That Bouquet
The Official Southern Ladies' Guide to Hosting the Perfect Wedding
by Gayden Metcalfe and Charlotte Hays
Hyperion, 272 pp., $19.95

My lovely engaged friend wouldn't relate to many modern brides, and especially not to the brides Rebecca Mead describes in *One Perfect Day*, a book in which Mead, a staff writer for the *New Yorker*, sets out to explain why the American wedding has morphed into such a demanding, elaborate, time-consuming, and expensive affair.

Along the way, Mead also explores the rise of the "bridezilla," a term that has soaked into the American vernacular to describe the engaged woman who abandons reason and sanity in monomaniacal pursuit of staging her dream wedding. Who, or what, spawned her? And who, exactly, is happy about the way in which Americans now wed?

All roads lead to the wedding industry's $160-billion-a-year stable of retailers, planners, and specialty vendors, who have every interest in creating as many bridezillas as they can by convincing women to spare no bit of time or expense in orchestrating their big day.

"Weddings have been transformed from outside interests into machines for making money," Mead writes. "Blaming the bride wasn't an adequate explanation for what seemed to be the underlying concept of the bridezilla." With a lethal English wit, Mead examines the wedding industry's inner workings—from the gown business to registries to photography and videography rackets to the bridal magazines and websites referred to by many young women as "wedding porn."

Then there are the burgeoning ranks of wedding "professionals" or planners, who are called upon to rescue an overwhelmed bride and lately have usurped the role of traditional wedding planners—like mothers, sisters, and the brides themselves.

"It's not the little ladies, the church social secretaries with the phone book anymore," one male consultant told Mead at a convention for the Association of Bridal Consultants. "There are more men, and more straight men. There are more business degrees. . . . Do you realize how many people are successful consultants because we have provided them with education and support?"

As you might expect, wedding professionals often help complicate, rather than expedite, the wedding planning process. Trained to cope with the complexities of the modern wedding, and armed with a wellspring of options and ideas, planners drive a stressed-out bride further up the wall. One planner

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TIME & LIFE PICTURES

told Mead that 43 different businesses are involved in coordinating today's wedding. Not surprisingly, the cost of the average wedding has nearly doubled in the last 15 years to $28,000—up from (adjusted for inflation) $15,000 in 1990.

Planners also disseminate the notion that the wedding day presents a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for self-invention. So the idea has spread that, while a bride should insist on all the *de rigueur* traditional bridal purchases, like a gown and a ring, she should also plan the wedding to reflect the couple's individual style—and to fuel the wedding industry's bottom line.

This trend of blending the traditional with the individual—or the "traditionalesque" as Mead describes it—helps explain the wild popularity in some quarters of weddings with themes, like the Renaissance or even sports. For couples *really* willing to open their wallets, Walt Disney World's Fairy Tale Weddings program will tailor a wedding—held at a Disney World location, of course—to include any of a couple's favorite elements of Disney movies and characters. So for the Cinderella theme (Disney's most popular), a bride and groom may choose to arrive at the castle via glass pumpkin coach, have Major Domo walk the rings down the aisle in a glass slipper, and then preside over the reception from twin thrones.

Which brings up another question: Besides being a boon to the economy, what exactly is a wedding for?

According to Mead's interviews with recent brides, the point is up for grabs. Weddings can be a celebration of family, of self, of religion, or just an excuse for a huge party. But each bride discovers that the wedding industry's survival depends on serving up endless expectations. The new wedding culture encourages brides to embrace the most romantic ideals of marriage, but then insists that so much more is needed to start a life together.

"We think we are better than that, but then we get caught up," one bride told Mead. "I feel so betrayed by the wedding industry. They are feeding me, and I am sucked into it, but I love it."

Meanwhile, Gayden Metcalfe and Charlotte Hays, childhood friends from Greenville, Mississippi, strike a decidedly different tone in *Somebody Is Going to Die If Lilly Beth Doesn't Catch That Bouquet*, a portrait of southern wedding etiquette that follows their account of southern funerals, *Being Dead Is No Excuse* (2005).

One of the most important pieces of advice they give to anyone attending a southern wedding is to never—*nevah!*—congratulate a southern bride. "To do so is an insult to southern womanhood," the authors write. "It hints that the bride has caught, rather than been caught. . . . Congratulating the bride is the height of rudeness, and rude is the worst epithet there is in the Delta." The polite acknowledgment is to express to the bride and groom best wishes for their happiness.

Mothers are heavily involved in every step of the wedding planning process (including choosing the husband) but Metcalfe and Hays encourage mothers to smother their disdain if they don't approve. One mother told everyone in Greenville that her daughter's boyfriend didn't have the breeding of the family hunting dog. When her daughter accepted a proposal from him soon afterwards, she drove the length and breadth of town explaining that her future son-in-law descended from a Confederate general.

Meanwhile, the groom should remember that his role is to stay out of the way and pay the minister. His family is there to bankroll the rehearsal dinner and look nice—but otherwise be unobtrusive. His mother may enjoy some of the spotlight, but she should remember the bride and her mother are the real stars.

As always in the South, food is of the utmost importance. Metcalfe and Hays include Top Ten lists of food to serve at the Delta wedding reception (cheese straws, open bar, mints) and food to avoid (Cold Duck champagne, wings, and anything on a Saltine or Ritz cracker). Before a wedding the bride should at least pretend she knows how to cook, so the authors sprinkle recipes for southern staples like tomato aspic and shrimp remoulade throughout.

Unique as they are, Delta weddings have not been immune to recent national trends. "While weddings in the Delta have always been major social events, in recent years they've taken along the patina of a pageant," Metcalfe and Hays write. "Why have weddings turned into such extravaganzas? Because they are no longer life-changing events. . . . With the lovebirds already chirping at the same address, it is the [wedding] itself that must create that drama of the special, but not quite sooo special day, as it once was." ♦

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James M. Cox,
Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dayton, Ohio

BETTMANN / CORBIS

Back to Normalcy

Smoke-filled rooms, the League of Nations, and the second Mrs. Wilson. BY PETER HANNAFORD

At the moment we have several senators vying for the presidency. In 1920, it was presidents—past, present, and future—in a campaign like no other before or since. David Pietrusza, a seasoned crime-and-mystery writer, builds the suspense of the 1920 campaign so effectively that the reader easily suspends, for the moment, knowledge of the outcome, as if it were still about to happen.

He begins with the moment of President Woodrow Wilson's stroke on October 2, 1919: "The President of the United States lay bleeding on the bathroom floor. He could not move. He could not speak." This triggered a flurry of jockeying, guessing, conniving, wishing, and horse-trading that would end 13 months later in the election of Warren Harding as the 29th president.

1920
The Year of Six Presidents
by David Pietrusza
Carroll & Graf, 544 pp., $28.95

On the way to that Election Day, there was much early support for former President Theodore Roosevelt, who had returned to the Republicans after bolting in 1912 to head the Progressive movement's ruinous Bull Moose ticket. Roosevelt's death in 1919 rearranged the equation. There was Herbert Hoover, the engineering whiz who had fed a starving Europe. He was so uncertain about his political moorings, however, that he ran in the 1920 primaries in both parties. Calvin Coolidge, governor of Massachusetts, had his supporters. Former President William Howard Taft harbored hopes of a political resurrection, but they were not to go far. After TR, the front-runners (now largely forgotten) were Illinois governor Frank Lowden and General Leonard Wood, of Rough Rider fame.

The Democratic nomination seemed less valuable as time went on, but this did not stop the ambitious Franklin Roosevelt, Theodore's fifth cousin, from making the effort (he ended up as his party's vice presidential nominee).

President Wilson, for his part, never recovered to fully govern again. Disabled and ill, he was sunk in reverie and the hope that, somehow, the Democratic convention would deadlock and turn to him for a third term, breathing new life into his lost cause, the League of Nations. David Pietrusza draws a clear portrait of a man of high ideals and low tolerance for anyone who disagreed with him. Woodrow Wilson had little personal loyalty for those who gave their all for him, and his inability to compromise in any way over the League with his nemesis, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, had led to the League's defeat.

After 44 ballots the Democrats chose Ohio governor James M. Cox—like Harding, a newspaper publisher/editor. Others in the running were William Gibbs McAdoo, Wilson's son-in-law and Treasury secretary, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, who had run the controversial campaign to root out Communist sedition, and New York's governor Alfred Smith.

The campaign played out against a background of post-World War I inflation and unemployment, the final drive for women's suffrage, third-party impulses (Eugene Debs's Socialists and others), Prohibition, and the beginnings of pent-up industrial growth. There were more than

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enough issues to inflame this or that constituency, so both parties cast up bland platforms. "[The Republicans] were able at Chicago to say nothing in just about one-tenth the number of words that the Democrats needed to say the same thing," wrote the *New York Tribune*.

While the author gives us little new material (save some specifics of Wilson's bad temper and the fact that Harding's extramarital affairs were more numerous than you might think), he organizes the story in a way that produces high drama. The book begins with a section called "The Players in Our Drama," featuring brief sketches of 52 of them. We meet, among others, the fading William Jennings Bryan; William Estabrook Chancellor, a racist professor who tries to bring down Harding by accusing him of being part black (such were the times); Harry Daugherty, the Ohio tactician whose strategy it was to make the amiable Harding acceptable to all Republicans; the irascible Senator Hiram Johnson of California; and Edith Bolling Galt Wilson, the president's second wife who controlled access to him for the final year-and-a-half of his presidency.

Pietrusza brings to life Harding's front porch campaign in Marion, Ohio, with bands playing, flags flying, and an astonishing 600,000 visitors tramping to the doorstep. He also gives more detail than most readers will need or want about the climactic vote in the Tennessee legislature over the 19th Amendment, which gave women the vote. The same is true of his account of the Committee of Forty-eight, a progressive third-party movement that went nowhere. But his penchant for detail lets us see the Republican nominating process up close, so that we learn that Harding was chosen not by a handful of men in a "smoke-filled room" (as is often asserted) but as the result of many meetings over many hours in many rooms, with people scurrying from one to another with the frequency of the door openings and closings in a Feydeau farce. ♦

Saving Danny Glover

The Saint of Fort Washington meets Hugo B. DeMille.

BY JOE QUEENAN

Men of goodwill dread the moment when an autocrat morphs into a tyrant, when a power-hungry dictator descends into outright madness.

With Robespierre, it was the decision to have himself declared a demi-god. With Hitler, it was the homicidal response to the Reichstag fire. With Idi Amin, it was the directive to expel Asians—the linchpins of the economy—from Uganda. Now, in a fearful development suggesting that Venezuelan strongman Hugo Chávez is rapidly transmogrifying from a generic South American thug into a fiend straight from the bowels of Hell, the Venezuelan government has announced plans to bankroll Danny Glover's fledgling career as a producer.

Experts agree that even the most violent dictators can usually be pacified by bribes or diplomacy, and only become dangerous when they start to behave in an unpredictable fashion. This is the difference between a crook like Vladimir Putin and a lunatic like Kim Jong Il.

For the longest time, it appeared that Chávez would remain a respectable neo-Peronist goon, more a nuisance than a threat. Like Castro and Noriega, he would adhere to the tried-and-true banana republic script: shutting down television stations, suppressing student protests, making enemies disappear, using the nation's treasury to buy the proletariat's support, redistributing farmland to urbanites with no expertise in the horticultural arts. But now, by agreeing to provide the has-been Danny Glover with $20 million to bankroll a film about Simon Bolivar, and a second film about Haitian legend Toussaint L'Ouverture, Chávez has begun to manifest a bizarre, Maoist streak that is genuinely terrifying.

Glover was recently seen in the formulaic *Dreamgirls*, getting fourth billing in a film that only had four stars. In it, he played a talent agent who gets outmaneuvered by a sharper talent agent. This pretty well describes the arc of his career. While appearing in several passable films early in his career (*The Color Purple*, *Witness*, *Grand Canyon*), Glover is best known, if not actually respected, for his work as Mel Gibson's sidekick in the *Lethal Weapon* series. Rarely asked to carry the ball, he has often appeared in slop like *Silverado*, *Good Fences*, *The Saint of Fort Washington*. Lowlights include the first *Saw* movie, an evil, moronic slimefest in which manacled captives must sever their own limbs in order to escape death. There have been three sequels to *Saw*, the most recent of which is currently in theaters. Thanks, Danny.

The hapless Glover also appeared in the 1997 Everglades caper *Gone Fishin'*. Arguably the least comic comedy ever made, *Gone Fishin'* stars Glover and Joe Pesci as barely animate, middle-aged knuckleheads who go on a fishing expedition and get into a whole heap o' trouble. I personally was so devastated by the sight of an elderly man trudging out of the theater dejectedly after watching the film that I not only refunded him the nine-dollar ticket price, but created an alter ego known as the Bad Movie Angel, who would patrol the streets of Gotham issuing refunds to anyone unlucky enough to have paid to see a film starring Demi Moore, Ashley Judd, Shaquille O'Neal, Glover, or Pesci.

Let me underscore that I had seen thousands of dejected old men trudge out of crummy movies before I spied that defeated, teary-eyed, broken-down old

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Danny Glover, Hugo Chávez in Harlem, 2006

gent dragging himself from *Gone Fishin'*, and had never once been tempted to give any of them a refund. But that poor fellow was the saddest human being I had ever laid eyes on. Still is.

Glover's chumminess with South America's most depraved dictator is neither surprising nor disturbing: He is a toad, and toads get toady. Glover is neither the first nor the last has-been to get all palsy-walsy with a well-heeled scumbag, though this may be the first time on record that anyone from Hollywood has toadied up to a Venezuelan scumbag.

What is of particular concern is Chávez's gratuitously cruel resuscitation of Glover's career. The charitable view is that Chávez is only bankrolling Glover because it is an ingenious way to insult Americans. Glover's recent films are widely available in South America, so it is almost impossible to believe that Chávez expects his productions to make any money. And since Glover once appeared in *Operation Dumbo Drop*, Chávez has to be aware that the artistic merits of his Heroes of Latin American Democracy series are unlikely to be high.

Chávez's decision to pony up the cash for such a forlorn enterprise can mean only one of two things: He has finally gone completely off his rocker, or he is deliberately trying to screw with the American people.

I, for one, hope that his actions are an indication of dementia rather than a crass attempt to insult Americans. If Chávez, who has always had a few screws loose, is funding Glover because he's gone around the bend, then he will quickly be on to his next madcap adventure, and this will be the last we hear of his incipient career as a Caracasian Cecil B. DeMille. If, on the other hand, Chávez is funding Glover because he is trying to make life miserable for the American people, the prospects are far more troubling.

A man who is willing to give a Danny Glover $20 million on Monday might be willing to give Steven Seagal $40 million on Tuesday. A man willing to bankroll the star of *The Cookout* today is a man who might be ready to bankroll *The Gun in Betty Lou's Handbag II* tomorrow.

Armed with the immense revenues gushing from Venezuela's oil fields, Chávez finds himself in a position to breathe life into corpses as varied as Jennifer Love Hewitt, Jean-Claude Van Damme, Skeet Ulrich, Joe Piscopo, and yes, The Boz.

If Chávez is bankrolling the star of *Chu Chu and the Philly Flash* because he's mentally ill, we can all relax; this, too, shall pass. But if Chávez has put Danny Glover on the payroll because he thinks it's funny, then maybe it's time to nuke the son of a bitch. As the old saw goes: You mess with us, we're gonna mess with you. ♦

Calling Senator Cruise

Robert Redford descends from the mountain to make us think. **BY JOHN PODHORETZ**

Lions for Lambs, the new movie directed by and starring Robert Redford, is designed to move us away from the "black-and-white" rhetoric of the war on terror and instead draw our focus to the "gray areas." This is necessary so that there can be a debate on issues—a debate we have been "denied" over the past six years.

I know this because I heard Robert Redford say it before a screening of *Lions for Lambs* at the Museum of Modern Art, where the movie was met with rapturous applause by an audience studded with has-beens, including a Mohawk-sporting Randy Quaid, Andrew (*Pretty in Pink*) McCarthy, Adam (Counting Crows) Duritz, and Janine (*Northern Exposure*) Turner. Redford's main hope, he said just before his film unspooled itself over the course of 88 of the most barren minutes anyone has ever spent at MOMA, is that his new film will make us *think*. That is, indeed, a

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TIMOTHY A. CLARY / AFP / GETTY IMAGES

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noble purpose. So let me say on behalf of the American filmgoing public that we collectively owe an inexpressible debt to Redford for deigning to slalom down from his pristine Utah mountaintop to compel us to make unaccustomed use of our underutilized gray matter.

Redford did not have to bestir himself, God knows. What more has he to prove? What more must he give to the nation and the world to whom he has given so much, particularly by jumping off a cliff shouting "S—t" in *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*? Well, the times demanded it of him, and Robert Redford has obeyed the urgent summons. It is Redford's view that his fellow Americans—or perhaps I should say his fellow Caucasian Americans, since the black and Latino characters in *Lions for Lambs* are nothing short of saintly in every respect—are at once so understandably disillusioned and so mind-numbingly materialistic that we simply choose not to cerebrate what should be celebrated.

Redford is sadly correct. Surely someone must be held accountable for the billions upon billions of American brain cells that were viciously and wantonly destroyed by the tragic decision, taken by far too many of Redford's countrymen, to spend two hours and six minutes watching his most recent outing as a director, *The Legend of Bagger Vance*. But believe me, these unfortunates were the lucky ones, as compared with others who were driven into a permanent state of drooling disrepair by the film Redford directed before *Bagger Vance*. I need not rehearse the details for the literate audience of The Weekly Standard, which is already well aware that Justice Anthony Kennedy, with his growing interest in the primacy of international law, recently declared even a voluntary viewing of Redford's *The Horse Whisperer* an unquestioned violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

In a clear attempt to atone for his own unparalleled contribution to the growing idiocy of the American people, Redford has taken a didactic screenplay by Matthew Michael Carnahan and harnessed Meryl Streep and Tom Cruise to it. And they, like he, pull and pull and pull at *Lions for Lambs* with desperate urgency and a crazed energy that is only produced by the most strenuous overacting.

Streep plays a reporter for a news network who also doubles as a correspondent for *Time* in her copious spare time. She arrives at the Capitol Hill office of Republican Senator Cruise, who has a scoop for her: There is a new strategy to win the war in Afghanistan. At that very moment in Afghanistan, Special Forces troops are being moved into position to implement Cruise's new strategy. Two of the Special Forces troops are former students of liberal professor Redford, who is in his office having a sit-down with an impressive but unmotivated college student.

Lions for Lambs
Directed by Robert Redford

And there you have *Lions for Lambs*. The movie basically consists of three one-act plays, with two characters each, taking place simultaneously: Cruise and Streep in the Senate office, Redford and Unmotivated Student in a campus office, and Redford's two students shot up and bleeding on an Afghan mountain while al Qaeda operatives close in on them. Redford tells Unmotivated the story of his two students, little knowing they are meeting their fate at that very moment. He begged them not to go. But they decided they had to get involved in order to further their cause of bringing social justice to the ghetto—to join the military and fight in the war on terror to give them unimpeachable political credentials. Redford sees in Unmotivated the same bravery, the same conviction, the same ability to stand up for something.

Because that is what it is all about—standing up for something. "Do something," Redford tells Unmotivated, who replies that politicians tell lies and why shouldn't he just go for the good life where you make money? But this is a Hollywood picture, and we know that Hollywood is far too monastic a place to abide anyone who is just in it for the money.

Cruise, who looks far more like John Edwards than any Republican politician, offers plastic platitudes to Streep. Mistakes were made in the past, he says, but now is the time to look forward. She is old enough to have heard it all before, she says, in the language of Vietnam-era Gen. Creighton Abrams—and besides, people like Cruise lied us into war in Iraq. He points out that her network used to offer serious news reporting and now has a toothy anchorwoman with big hair. She hangs her head in shame.

After Cruise gets a phone call informing him that the new strategy is already a failure because Redford's two students are bleeding on the mountain, he turns to her and speaks the truth. He is tired of America being humiliated, he says. She leaves his office, begins to hyperventilate, and tells her boss that Cruise is going to become the next president and use nuclear weapons on unsuspecting Muslims. Her boss tells her to write up the news without mentioning the whole nuclear-weapons thing. She says she will not be a vehicle for warmongering propaganda the way the entire news media were the last time. He says she'd better, or Streep's sick mother will no longer be able to receive 24-hour care.

The last thing we see is Unmotivated reading the crawl on Streep's cable news channel simply stating that there is a new strategy for winning the war in Afghanistan. Streep has given in. We are left to understand that the only thing standing between America and Armageddon at the hands of Tom Cruise, Evil Republican, is the Unmotivated College Student choosing to "stand up for something."

Will he do it? Never before have we seen such shades of gray! Thank the Lord, we have at last moved past the black-and-white rhetoric of the past six years! ♦

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Not a Parody

This fall, the University of Delaware required 7,000 students living in dormitories to attend training sessions, floor meetings, and "one-on-one" discussions about the university's approved views on politics, race, sexuality, diversity, and environmentalism. One resident assistant documented what she dubbed her "worse one-on-one" session with a student. This account was obtained by the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, which posted it online. An excerpt is reproduced below. On November 2, University of Delaware president Patrick Harker ended the program.

I sat with Ms. ?????? while she filled out the questionnaire. When she finished, I asked her what she thought of the overall exercise. Ms. ????? looked really angry and spoke in a strong voice. Ms. ???? stated she thought these questions were really none of our business and that the problems in our society are because we are always shoving diversity down people throats. I cannot recall exactly what else Ms. ?????? said because she was speaking so fast and in such an angry voice. After approximately 5 minutes of speaking about how this activity and other ones like it are bad I tried to calm Ms. ????? down. I told her that we are not forcing anyone to do anything; we are simply giving everyone an opportunity to be exposed to different aspects of diversity. Ms. ????? said that she was tired of having "diversity shoved down her throat" and that she has been hearing about it all her life. I told her that not everyone has had the opportunity to be exposed to diversity like she had, and that it is important to give this opportunity to everyone. I told her that we have had hate crimes on this campus and that I thought that the more people we could expose to diversity, hopefully the less hate crimes we would have. Ms. ????? said that people have a legal right to hate other races and/or people that are different then us. Ms. ????? stated that she was not racist but she would stand up for the right of people who are racist to have their belief. I told her that people can have their opinions but they can't act on their hate towards others, Ms. ????? agreed with that. Finally, I tried to set goals with her, and she said that the only goal she had was to not procrastinate, other then that she said that she does not make goal and said she only worried about taking things as they came. I ended our one-on-one by telling her that I am here for her no matter what. I told her to leave me note and e-mails if she could not find me. Ms. ???? said ok and turned in the activity and left.

When she left, I read the exercise. This is what it stated:

1) When were you first made aware of your race?
"That is irrelevant to everything. My race is human being."
2) When did you discover your sexual identity?
"That is none of your damn business"
3) Who taught you a lesson in regards to some form of diversity awareness? What was that lesson?
"My grandparents sometimes make racial comments. And what the hell does that have to do with anything."
4) When was a time when you confronted someone regarding an issue of diversity? What was the confrontation about? If you haven't, why not?
"Why would I do something like that? Diversity exists. I like it. Leave it at that.
5) When was a time you felt oppressed? Who was oppressing you? How did you feel?
"I am oppressed everyday on basis of my undying and devont feelings for the opera. Regularly passerbys throw stones at me and jeer me with cruel names. Because of this I am exiled and often contemplate suicide. Unbearable adversity. But I will overcome, hear me, you rock loving majority. ←This is called "sarcasm.""
6) Can you think of a time when someone was offended by what you said? How did that make you feel? How did you think it made them feel? How did his/her behavior change towards you?
"I offend people everyday just by being alive. They look at me and feel insulted. Then I open my mouth and they are further insulted. I say things like "good day!" and they take insult. ← More sarcasm! All right!

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